Notes on Vietnam history

Updated 2024.12.22 ⦿ Started 2023.06.12

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Publications (http://bit.ly/17Wuww9), Google scholar (http://bit.ly/1ftDOKF)

NOTE-1: The present document, which is continuingly and frequently updated, complements the documents below, particularly in pointing out misprints/errors in Vietnam-history books:
Internet Archive: Nguyen Ngoc Bich (1911-1966): A Biography, Internet Archive
Internet Archive: Marco Polo's Caugigu - Phạm Ngũ Lão's Đại Việt - 1285, Internet Archive
Internet Archive: Notes on Vietnam history, Internet Archive

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NOTE-2: This document is work in progress and having many planned updates with the update and starting dates shown above.

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NOTE

These are my personal notes on analysis of misprints (often used as a euphemism for errors), blatant errors, clarification, etc. for the Vietnam-history books or articles I read, together with my communications with the authors. These notes complements my other two documents:

Internet Archive: Nguyen Ngoc Bich (1911-1966): A Biography, Internet Archive
Internet Archive: Marco Polo's Caugigu - Pham Ngũ Lão's Đai Viêt - 1285, Internet Archive

I also added interesting notes here that do not fit in the above two documents.

The Tran dynasty

Taylor 2013
History of the Vietnamese
Misprint 1, Posthumous name

Misprint 2, Tran Thu Do

Cochin China (Nam Kỳ), origin of the name

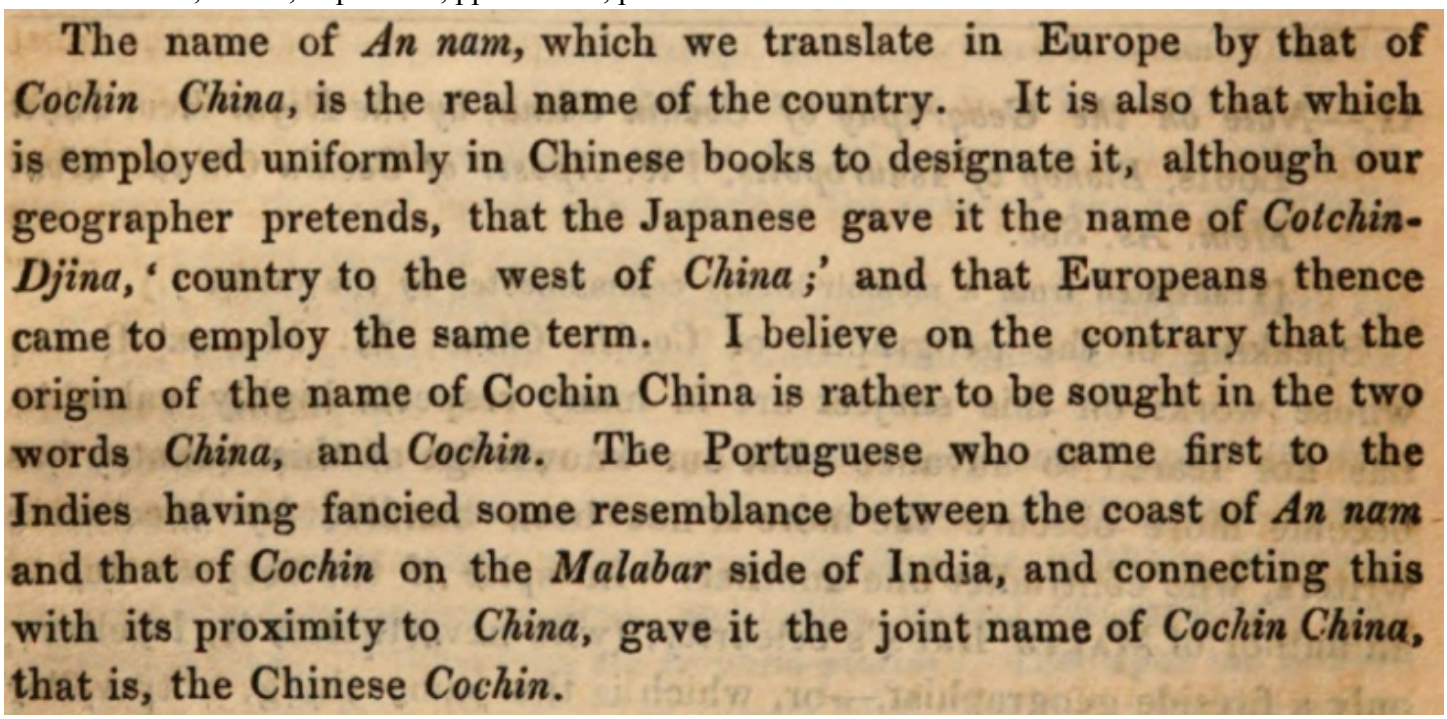
Updated 2024.3.24 - Started 23.12.17

Jean-Louis Taberd

From the first article of Jean-Louis Taberd in Ref.[4] of the scholarly written article by the former American diplomat Meinheit, Harold E. (2016), The Bishop's Map Vietnamese and Western Cartography Converge, in *The Portolan*, Winter, pp. 28-40, Washington Map Society, Internet archived on 2023.12.10, p.38, pdf p.11:

4 Jean-Louis Taberd, "Notes on the Geography of Cochin China," *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI-Part II, No. 69, September, 1837, pp. 737–745. (*http://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.20428348?urlappend=%3Bseq=251*) Taberd's second article is: Jean-Louis Taberd, "Additional Notice on the Geography of Cochinchina," *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, No. 76, April 1838, pp. 317–324. (*http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028150624*).

Taberd J.L. (1837), Notes on the Geography of Cochin China, *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.VI - Part II, No.69, September, pp.737-745, p.738:



The name of *An nam*, which we translate in Europe by that of *Cochin China*, is the real name of the country. It is also that which is employed uniformly in Chinese books to designate it, although our geographer pretends, that the Japanese gave it the name of *Cotchin-Djina*, 'country to the west of *China*;' and that Europeans thence came to employ the same term. I believe on the contrary that the origin of the name of Cochin China is rather to be sought in the two words *China*, and *Cochin*. The Portuguese who came first to the Indies having fancied some resemblance between the coast of *An nam* and that of *Cochin* on the *Malabar* side of India, and connecting this with its proximity to *China*, gave it the joint name of *Cochin China*, that is, the Chinese *Cochin*.

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the Chinese *Cochin*.

Kingdom of Cochin - Wikipedia = The **Kingdom of Cochin**, named after its capital in the city of Kochi (Cochin), was a kingdom in the central part of present-day Kerala state. It commenced at the early part of the 12th century and continued to rule until 1949, when the monarchy was abolished by the Dominion of India.

Cochin Jews - Wikipedia = **Cochin Jews** (also known as **Malabar Jews** or **Kochinim**, from Hebrew: יהודי קוצ'ין, romanized: *Yehudey Kochin*) are the oldest group of Jews in India, with roots that are claimed to date back to the time of King Solomon.[3][4] The Cochin Jews settled in the Kingdom of Cochin in South India,[5] now part of the state of Kerala.[6][7] As early as the 12th century, mention is made of the Jews in southern India by Benjamin of Tudela. They are known to have developed Judeo-Malayalam, a dialect of Malayalam language.

With Jean-Louis Taberd's paper published in 1837, it is likely Taberd was (if not among) the first to publish on the meaning of the name "Cochin-China" in a scientific journal, as Taberd himself indicated that before him the origin of "Cochin China" came from the Japanese "name of *Cotchin-Djina*, 'country to the west of China'. "

Tana Li (1998), *Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Cornell University Press, did not refer to Taberd in her book, which was cited in the article Cochinchina - Wikipedia for the Portuguese origin of the name "Cochinchina":

> "The Japanese adopted the name 'Cochinchina' from the Portuguese."

But the meaning of "Cochinchina" itself was not explained, unlike the clear explanation that Taberd provided in his 1837 article as quoted above.

Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries on JSTOR
Li Tana
Copyright Date: 1998
Published by: Cornell University Press
Pages: 194

Lũy Sầy = Lũy Thầy

From the article Tìm hiểu về Lũy Trường Dục và Đồng Hới - Page 2 of 2 - Dòng Tên-Dòng Chúa Giêsu (dongten.net) (Internet archived 2024.01.14): "Dân gian gọi lũy này là Lũy Thầy vì muốn tỏ lòng trọng vọng Đào Duy Từ (English) là người đã có công đắp lũy (theo văn bia ở đò Cầu Dài). Chữ Thầy viết thành chữ Hán Việt là Sài (nghĩa là củi) cho nên Lũy Thầy đôi khi còn được gọi là Lũy Sầy vì đọc trật."

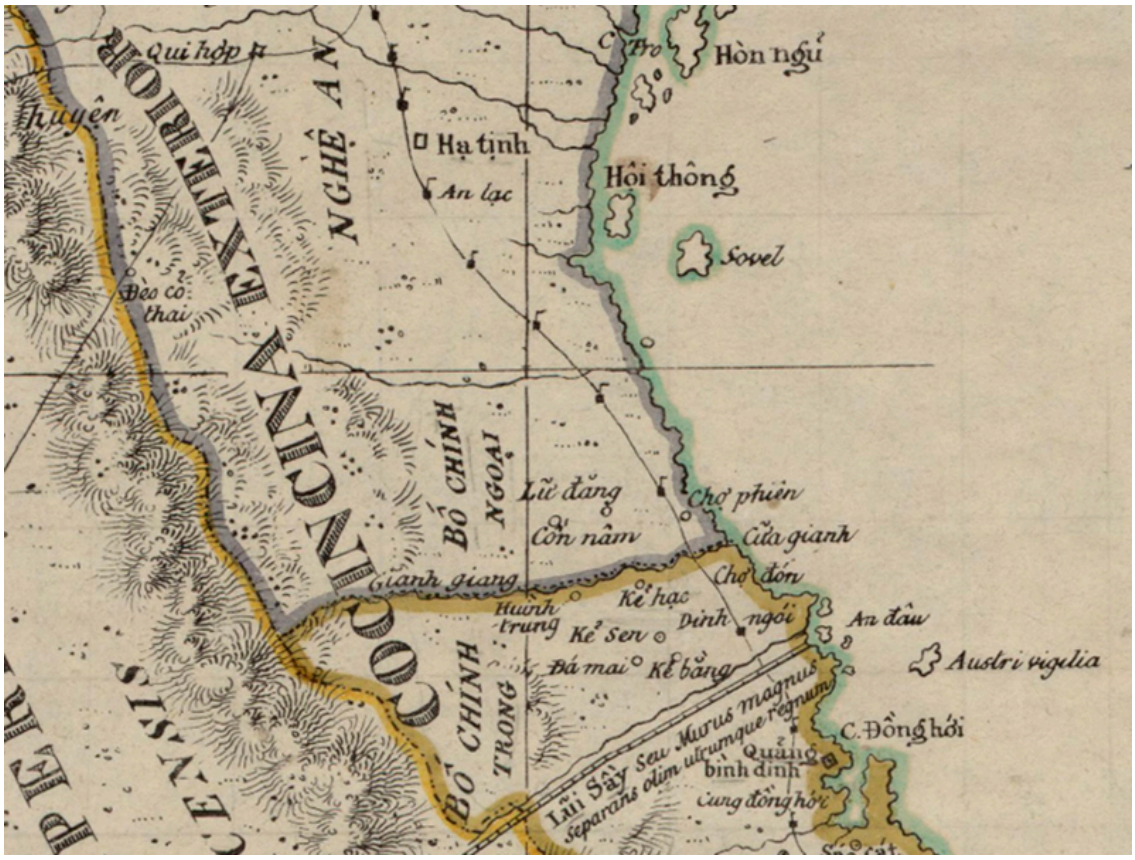
People called this rampart (defensive wall) "Lũy Thầy" (meaning the "Wall built by the Teacher") because they wanted to show respect to the "Teacher" Dao Duy Tu (Vietnamese Đào Duy Từ) who had the merit of building this rampart (according to the stele at the "Cầu Dài" ["Long Bridge"] ferry). The word "Thầy" written in Sino-Vietnamese is Sài (meaning firewood), so "Lũy Thầy" is sometimes also called "Lũy Sầy" because it was read/pronounced incorrectly (with "Th" in "Thầy" becoming "S" in "Sầy").

Đào Duy Từ – Wikipedia tiếng Việt = "**Đào Duy Từ** (chữ Hán: 陶維慈, 1572–7/12/1634) là nhà quân sư, nhà thơ[1] và nhà văn hóa, danh thần thời Chúa Nguyễn Phúc Nguyên. Chỉ vỏn vẹn 8 năm phò Chúa Sãi từ 1627 đến 1634 nhưng Đào Duy Từ đã khắc hoạ hình ảnh đặc dị một người thầy của Chúa Sãi, một kiệt tướng, một chính trị gia, một chiến lược gia, một kiến trúc gia, một kỹ thuật gia, một nghệ sư tài hoa, một học giả, cũng như là người góp phần quan trọng định hình được nhà nước, địa lý và bản sắc Đàng Trong. Nhà Nguyễn công nhận ông là đệ nhất khai quốc công thần và thờ ông ở Thái miếu.[2] "

Google Translate from Vietnamese to English

Đào Duy Từ (Chinese: 陶維慈, 1572–7/12/1634) was a military man, poet{1} and cultural figure, famous during the reign of Lord Nguyễn Phúc Nguyên. In just 8 years of supporting Lord Sãi from 1627 to 1634, Đào Duy Từ portrayed a unique image of a teacher of Lord Sãi, a great general, a politician, a strategist, an architect, a technologist, a talented artist, a scholar, as well as an important contributor to shaping the state, geography and identity of *Đàng Trong* ("Inner Annam," or "Cocincina interior," south of "Lũy Sầy"). The Nguyễn Dynasty recognized him as the first founder and benefactor of the country and worshiped him at the temple Thái, where former Nguyễn Lords were worshiped.

Note {1}: "Thăm đền thờ Đào Duy Từ". *Báo Bình Định*. 14 tháng 5 năm 2009. Truy cập ngày 2 tháng 1 năm 2021.



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cochin_China_exterior_Taberd_1838.png

Jean-Louis Taberd, in his 1838 map, called Tonkin as "Cocincina exterior" (*Đàng Ngoài*) and "Cochin China"[a] as "Cocincina interior" (*Đàng Trong*). In this classic 1838 map, the Gianh River is north of "Lũy Sầy" (an incorrect pronunciation and spelling of "Lũy Thầy") demarcating "Cocincina exterior" (or "Outer Annam") from "Cocincina interior" (or "Inner Annam"). A small river immediately north of "Lũy Sầy", drawn but not annotated, was likely the Son River, a tributary to the Gianh River.

See also the video Cư dân Bàu Tró: Lũy Thầy, những mảnh ghép lịch sử - YouTube

The Vietnam Wars
US vs Vietnam Declaration of Independence

I made this side-by-side comparison of the US Declaration of Independence (DoI) vs the Vietnam DoI because I was surprised to read that the two DoIs were "nearly exact" in Archimedes Patti, version at 22:16, 27 May 2021,

Archimedes Patti - Wikipedia
Declaration of Independence: A Transcription | National Archives
Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, George Mason University.
Declaration of independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam - Wikipedia, Vietnamese version

Declaration of Independence: A Transcription | National Archives	Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, George Mason University.
In Congress, July 4, 1776 **Universal human rights** The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America, When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design	Hanoi, 1945 Sep 2 **Universal human rights** "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free. The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights." Those are undeniable truths. Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice. --- **Grievances** In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty. They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck

to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

Grievances

- He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.
- He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.
- He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.
- He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.
- He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.
- He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.
- He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.
- He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.
- He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.
- He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.
- He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.
- He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

our national unity and prevent our people from being united.

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood.

They have fettered public opinion; they have practiced obscurantism against our people.

To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol.

In the field of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests, and our raw materials. They have monopolized the issuing of bank-notes and the export trade.

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty.

They have hampered the prospering of our national bourgeoisie; they have mercilessly exploited our workers.

In the autumn of 1940, when the Japanese Fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on their bended knees and handed over our country to them.

Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased. The result was that from the end of last year to the beginning of this year, from Quang Tri province to the North of Vietnam, more than two million of our fellow-citizens died from starvation. On March 9, the French troops were disarmed by the Japanese. The French colonialists either fled or surrendered showing that not only were they incapable of "protecting" us, but that, in the span of five years, they had twice [in 1940 and in 1945] sold our country to the Japanese.

Failed effort for reconciliation

- He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:
- For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:
- For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:
- For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:
- For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:
- For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:
- For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences
- For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:
- For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:
- For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.
- He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.
- He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.
- He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.
- He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.
- He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

Petition to redress injustice

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our

On several occasions before March 9, the Vietminh League urged the French to ally themselves with it against the Japanese. Instead of agreeing to this proposal, the French colonialists so intensified their terrorist activities against the Vietminh members that before fleeing they massacred a great number of our political prisoners detained at Yen Bay and Caobang.

Notwithstanding all this, our fellow-citizens have always manifested toward the French a tolerant and humane attitude. Even after the Japanese putsch of March 1945, the Vietminh League helped many Frenchmen to cross the frontier, rescued some of them from Japanese jails, and protected French lives and property.

Vietnam wrested independence

From the autumn of 1940, our country had in fact ceased to be a French colony and had become a Japanese possession.

After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The truth is that we have wrested our independence from the Japanese and not from the French.

The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated, Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland. Our people at the same time have overthrown the monarchic regime that has reigned supreme for dozens of centuries. In its place has been established the present Democratic Republic.

Declaration of independence

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligation that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Vietnam and we abolish all the special rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland.

emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

Declaration of independence

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer their country.

We are convinced that the Allied nations which at Tehran and San Francisco have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and equality of nations, will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam.

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eight years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country—and in fact is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

Source: Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works* Vol. 3, (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960–62), 17–21.

Observations

- The structure of the ideas is similar, but the content cannot be “nearly exact” (as exaggerated in Archimedes Patti, version at 22:16, 27 May 2021, where Patti was misquoted as perceiving a “nearly exact’ copy of the US Declaration of Independence), except for the first sentence “All men are created equal….”, which the Vietnam Declaration of Independence (DoI) borrowed from the US DoI, since these two countries have different histories with different circumstances.
- Here is what Patti actually said in his interview: What Ho Chi Minh “wanted to show me was a draft of the Declaration of Independence that he was going to declare several days later. Uhh. Of course, it was in Vietnamese and I couldn’t read it and when it was interpreted to me, I was quite taken aback to hear the words of the American Declaration of Independence.” Those words were only the first sentence of the Vietnam DoI, which was clearly different from the US DoI in content, as already explained above. The Wikipedian who edited Archimedes Patti, version at 22:16, 27 May 2021 misunderstood Patti.

- Ho Chi Minh kept the word "Creator" in the Vietnam Declaration of Independence, contrary to the absence of God (or Creator) in the communist doctrine. Patti, Archimedes (1980), *Why Viet Nam? Prelude to America's Albatross*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp.223, 250.

- Patti recalled that Ho "presented me with these sheets of paper. I looked at them and I said, 'What do I do with them? I can't read them.' He started to translate. So I just listened carefully and I was shocked. I was shocked to hear the first words of our own Declaration of Independence, especially in making reference to the Creator. He had the words life and liberty kind of transposed and I worked it out for him a little bit and said 'I think this is the way it should be' " Logevall, Fredrik (2012), *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*, Random House, New York, p.101.

- Ho Chi Minh also quoted "The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen," and made a reference to the motto "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which "first appeared during the French Revolution," and which were clearly not the wording of the US Declaration of Independence.

- "Duong Van Mai Elliott wrote that numerous members of her 'bourgeois' family, swept up in the excitement and promise of the August Revolution, began working with the Viet Minh. She maintained, however, that Ho's use of the American Declaration of Independence was lost on most of the Vietnamese present in Ba Dinh Square. It was, she believed, not even intended for them. Elliott concluded that the famous sentences were to 'flatter the OSS delegation in attendance and, through them, perhaps win support from the United States.' " Bartholomew-Feis, Dixee (2006), *The OSS and Ho Chi Minh: Unexpected Allies in the War against Japan*, University Press of Arkansas, Lawrence, Kansas, p.247. Elliott, Duong Van Mai (1999), *The Sacred Willow: Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.120–126.

- It is likely that Ho Chi Minh, with his keen intellect and sharp observation, had known about the US Declaration of Independence well before 1945, when he visited Boston and New York: "In late 1912, he crossed the Atlantic aboard a French vessel, visiting Boston before taking a job as a laborer in New York City. Manhattan's skyline astonished him, and he was impressed that Chinese immigrants in the United States could claim legal protection even though they were ineligible for U.S. citizenship. He expressed admiration for Abraham Lincoln's leadership in ending slavery and preserving the Union. But Ho also saw the grim realities of America's current race relations as he mingled with blacks in Harlem. It dismayed him that America could espouse such idealistic principles yet subject blacks to segregation, to blatant dis- crimination in all areas of public life, to lynching." Logevall, Fredrik (2012), *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*, Random House, New York, p.11.

- In 1946, Ho Chi Minh "told American intelligence officers Frank White and George Wickes of his fond memories of living in Boston and New York and of his admiration for American principles as enshrined in the Declaration of Independence, then asked the two men to convey to Washington his high hopes for U.S. support for his nation's quest for independence." Logevall (2012), p.134.

- Another evidence that Ho Chi Minh likely had prior knowledge of the US Declaration of Independence long before 1946, as US Lt. Dan Phelan said: "Ho had been thinking about the American Declaration of Independence for several months [before May 1946]. … He kept asking me if I could remember the language of our Declaration. … but all he really wanted was the flavor of the thing. … The more we discussed it, the more he actually seemed to know about it than I did. As a matter of fact, he knew more about almost everything than I did…" Bartholomew-Feis, Dixee (2006), pp.243-244

- I corrected the misleading sentence "Patti offered several corrections on what he perceived to be a nearly-exact copy of the U.S. Declaration of Independence," originally inserted into the article on

Archimedes Patti, version at 22:16, 27 May 2021 to the following: Patti offered some corrections to the wording of the opening sentence, which Ho Chi Minh quoted from the US Declaration of Independence. Ho also quoted the 1791 Declaration of the French Revolution and the motto "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which "first appeared during the French Revolution." The Vietnam Declaration of Independence has a similar structure as, but different in content from, the US Declaration of Independence since the histories and circumstances of the two countries were clearly different.

Francophile anticolonialists

Updated 2024.12.22 - Started 2023.07.06

There is a complex relationship between the Vietnamese and the French during the colonial era. Many French-educated Vietnamese, with their education whether in Vietnam or in France, held an affinity toward French culture, and even the French people in France, but harbored an implacable hatred toward the French *colons* (colonists) in Vietnam.

As an example, it suffices to listen to Ho Chi Minh telling the journalist and biographer Jean Lacouture in 1946: "A race such as yours which has given the world the literature of freedom will always find us friends. . . . If you only knew, monsieur, how passionately I reread Victor Hugo and Michelet year after year." EW p.145-146.

Another example is described in *Nguyen Ngoc Bich (1911-1966): A Biography*, Internet Archive.
See also FV, p.46, pdf p.59, Bach, Giau, Francophile anticolonialists.

For other quotations on this matter, see, e.g,

- Tongas (1960) EC p.83, Tongas met Ho, EC p.84. in French. Ho's excellent French, in a meeting with the author and his wife in December 1954, was recounted by a first-rate historian (see the review of Tongas' 1960 book by P.J. Honey 1962). I translated some of these excerpts into English. Ho was glad to meet French people again (the author and his wife) after eight years fighting against the French colonialists EC p.83, After eight years.

- Cooper (1970), LC p.121, LC p.122. In the Vietnamese community living in France, there were "ardent anti-French nationalists," particularly the non-Communist members of the Viet Minh. One prime example was *Nguyen Ngoc Bich (1911-1966)*.

- Logevall (2012) EW p.138. In September 1946, Ho Chi Minh enjoyed his last visit to France, a country and a culture he loved, even though he knew that (the First Indochina) War was looming, and that he would fight against the French colonists when he got back to Vietnam. See also EW p.9 (where the phrase "Francophile anticolonialist" appeared), EW p.145-146 (Ho and complex feelings about France and the French).

Bartholomew-Feis 2020

Bartholomew-Feis, Dixee (2020), *The OSS in Vietnam, 1945: A War of Missed Opportunities*, The National WWII Museum, New Orleans, Jul 15, retrieved 1 Mar 2023. Internet archived on 2023.04.26.

Capt. (or Major?) Patti

> The man in charge of the American Mission to Hanoi was Capt. Archimedes Patti, whose team was greeted with the same warmth and respect that had been accorded the Deer Team earlier.

For the rank "Captain", see Bartholomew-Feis (2020) (Capt. Patti), Bartholomew-Feis (2006) (OS p.65, Captain Patti), Spector (2008) (RE, Chap.5).

In this older book, Spector (1985) cited two July-1945 documents in two footnotes (on the same page) that referred to Patti as "Capt." (AS p.41), but in the text, starting from August 1945 when Patti arrived in Hanoi, Spector (1985) referred to Patti as Major; see, e.g., the photo (AS p.57, photo). In his most recent book, Spector (2022) also referred to Patti as Major; see below.

For the rank "Major", see Devillers (1952) (HV p.155, Major Patti), Brocheux (2007) (HB p.89, Major Patti), Spector (1985) (AS p.57, photo), Spector (2022) (CE Chap.1), Williams (2019) (US p.16, Maj. Patti).

The only two references to Patti as Captain in Spector (1985) (AS p.41) were two "Records of Mission" dated in July 1945 in two footnotes in a single page (p.41), but in all subsequent pages (including in the Index), Spector (1985) referred to Patti as Major.

In addition, several books—such as Brocheux (2007), Williams (2019), Spector (2022)—that appeared after Spector (1985)—except for Spector (2008), but including Spector (2022)—referred to Patti as Major, not to mention Devillers (1952).

Smith (2005) referred to Patti as "Col." (Colonel) in the image caption OS p.194 and in OS p.316; these are misprints since Patti ended his career as Lieutenant Colonel; see Arlington National Cemetery. Subsequently, on several pages, Smith (2005) referred to Patti as Major when Patti was in Hanoi; see OS p.319, OS p.322, OS p.323, but never "Captain".

In his book review, Reynolds 2008 clearly mentioned

- (A) "Captain Archimedes Patti" when Patti "met with a Viet Minh representative in mid-April [1945, in Kunming, China]" and
- (B) "Vietnam's independence on September 2 [1945]. The mission's leader, Major Patti, who clearly relished his role as ranking American representative".

Thus Patti was most likely promoted from Captain to Major after July 1945, and was at the rank of Major by the time he reached Hanoi in August 1945.

Error in Vietnamese Wikipedia

The Vietnamese Wikipedia article Đội Con Nai (OSS), version 01:28, ngày 1 tháng 6 năm 2023 referred to Patti with the rank "Thiếu tá" (Major), which was most likely correct. After I informed the active Wikipedian Daobao1301 of this Vietnamese article about the present analysis, Daobao1301 downgraded Patti to the rank "Đại úy" (Captain) in Đội Con Nai (OSS), version 13:04, ngày 23 tháng 6 năm 2023 (caption of inset image on the right), referring to Bartholomew-Feis (2006), p.235, and to Smith (2005), pp.308-309, perhaps due to a misreading of the analysis.

Đại úy Archimedes Patti (trái, đội mũ kepi) - Trưởng Cụm tình báo Đông Dương của Cơ quan Tình báo Chiến lược Hoa Kỳ, kiêm Trưởng phái đoàn Hoa Kỳ tại Hà Nội, và Võ Nguyên Giáp (phải, đội mũ và mặc vest) - Ủy viên Ủy ban Dân tộc giải phóng Việt Nam, trong buổi lễ chào cờ mang tính chất quốc tế đầu tiên tại Hà Nội, sáng 26 tháng 8 năm 1945

Another error in Đội Con Nai (OSS), 08:53, ngày 11 tháng 7 năm 2023 was the use of the word "kepi" in the caption of the quasi-parade organized by Vo Nguyen Giap in honor of Patti, as a "kepi" is a small cap, and Patti was not wearing a "small cap," but a full "US Army WW2 Officer visor crusher cap."

Bartholomew-Feis 2006

OSS and Ho Chi Minh

Bartholomew-Feis, Dixee (2006), *The OSS and Ho Chi Minh: Unexpected Allies in the War against Japan*, University Press of Arkansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Reviewed by B. Reynolds 2008

Review of Bartholonew-Feis 2006 by E. Bruce Reynolds, 2008.01.14, Internet archived 2012.05.10

> …
> The relationship between Ho and the OSS became more direct after Captain Archimedes Patti, who was charged with launching a separate intelligence-gathering scheme (code named QUAIL), met with a Viet Minh representative in mid-April [1945].
> …
> With Japan's surrender came the dispatch of an OSS group to Hanoi, where Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence on September 2. The mission's leader, Major Patti, who clearly relished his role as ranking American representative and found it difficult to disguise his sympathy for the Vietnamese, became a prime target of French hostility and his conduct the subject of enduring controversy.

NOTE: Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed analysis in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

OS p.65, Captain Patti

> Captain Archimedes Patti, an OSS operative who investigated the GBT as part of his own work in Indochina in February 1945, discovered that

NOTE: Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed analysis in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

OS p.163, pdf p.174, Dangerous trek from Pac Bo to Tan Trao

> As Patti began his quest to locate Ho Chi Minh, Frank Tan and Mac Shin were in Ching-hsi, preparing for what would be their two-week journey across the border south into Indochina. Ho had gone ahead of the two men and ordered twenty of his men back to act as escorts and to provide protection against any Japanese they might encounter and against the more prevalent danger, bandits. Tan, Shin, and their escorts set out early on the morning of April 15. Tan described his journey in his first message to GBT headquarters: "We set out dressed as border smugglers with all equipment carried in bamboo baskets so as to arouse normal suspicion of being illicit border traders. We walked parallel to the border until 15.00 hours, had our meal, waited until dark and then turned towards the border. This stretch of the journey was notorious for banditry so we unpacked and carried our arms while crossing the border."{66}
>
> Eventually Ho joined the men for the last leg of the journey into the Viet Bac. It was a particularly difficult and dangerous journey for Tan. Although he had been in Indochina many times, he was unaccustomed to continuous hiking over such rough terrain. He remembered quitting at one point when his legs gave out from the overexertion, but Ho told him he had to go on—it was far too dangerous to stay put, and there was no other way to reach the Viet Minh-held territory.{67} Mac Shin also recounted the many difficulties of the long journey, especially the lack of food and water. Ho Chi Minh instructed them on the many uses of bamboo—to get water and to eat—and of the value of salt to replenish their bodies as they struggled onward. "Mac, remember, the salt is better than gold," Ho reminded him. The group was relieved when Shin was able to make radio contact with Fenn and the first air-drop of food arrived. In his postwar reflections, Shin credited Fenn with saving their lives—especially since they had already been forced to eat the horses that had carried Tan and Shin part of the way.{68} Upon arriving at the rather unimpressive "headquarters" —a "mere hut in the entrance [to the cave at Bac Bo] ["Bac Bo" should be "Pac Bo"] by a waterfall" —Tan wrote:

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

OS p.164, pdf p.175, Kim Lung was Tan Trao

> With everyone safely across the border, the group continued on to the Viet Minh headquarters at Tan Trao (the new name given to Kim Lung by the Viet Minh). The group making this journey was much larger. Ho, Tan (whom the Viet Minh called Tam Xinh Shan to help protect his identity). and Shin (given the alias Nguyen Tu Tac) were joined by others from the Viet Minh

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

OS p.184, pdf p.195, Major Thomas to inspect GBT

> Indeed, the OSS had taken to sending officers to GBT headquarters to "inspect overall prospects" by going through GBT files. One such officer was the man designated to head the Deer Team, Major Allison Thomas.

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

OS p.307, Photo of Ho and Gen. Gallagher

Image caption

> General Philip Gallagher, second from left, standing with Ho Chi Minh, on his left. Throughout his months in Vietnam Gallagher continued to work with the Viet Minh Provisional Government because, he said, "there was no one else to deal with with any authority, or sense of responsibility" (Gallagher, correspondence cited in Edward R. Drachman, United States Policy toward Vietnam, 1940–1945 [Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970], 136). *Courtesy of John Nordlinger*.

Misprint in OS p.307: Gen. Gallagher

The above mention of "General Philip Gallagher" as "second from left" was incorrect. That person was Colonel Stephen Nordlinger per email from Barholomew-Feis to Loc Vu-Quoc on 2023.06.18.

Bartholomew-Feis' reply

> From: Dixee Bartholomew-Feis <bartholomew@bvu.edu>
> Sent: Tuesday, June 20, 2023 1:45 PM

To: Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>
Subject: RE: Cover image for "The OSS and Ho Chi Minh"; Dixee Bartholomew-Feis

Hello Dr. Vu,

Thank you for your delightful email! The American officer was Col Stephen Nordlinger. The first edition of the book wrongly identified him as Gen Gallagher! As far as I could learn the photograph was from 1946.

I am excited to hear about your work! How is it coming?

Dixee

From: Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>
Sent: Friday, June 16, 2023 1:37 PM
To: Dixee Bartholomew-Feis <bartholomew@bvu.edu>; Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>; Loc Vu-Quoc <vuquocloc@yahoo.com>
Subject: Cover image for "The OSS and Ho Chi Minh"; Dixee Bartholomew-Feis

Dr. Dixee Bartholomew-Feis | Buena Vista University, BVU Directory,
Dixee Bartholomew-Feis, School of Liberal Arts,
Dean of School of Liberal Arts/Professor of History,
bartholomew@bvu.edu, 712-749-1803.

Dear Dr. Bartholomew-Feis,

I recently came across your history book The OSS and Ho Chi Minh, on the cover of which was a photo showing Ho Chi Minh (3rd from right), Bao Dai (4th from right), and an American officer, who was not identified by a mention of the photo on the cover. (I searched for the word "cover").

Just now, after noticing that John Nordlinger provided you with many photos, by searching for "Nordlinger," I found the full image on p.307, the caption of which identified the American officer as General Philip Gallagher. On the other hand, the date of the photo was not mentioned. Please let me know in case you have the photo's date.

I found the same photo in the following Vietnamese article about Nguyen Van To, who was the only one identified as the 1st from right in the photo (standing to the left of Ho Chi Minh): Tài năng và nhân cách lớn của nhà chí sĩ yêu nước Nguyễn Văn Tố, The Lai Chau online, 2021 Jun 7, Mon. Internet archived on 2021 Jun 14.

I also want to let you know that I have learned a great deal from your excellent book, the information from which will be valuable in my work on a biography of the Vietnamese resistance hero Nguyen Ngoc Bich, who was mentioned in the classic Vietnam-history works by Ellen Hammer, John Buttinger, Chester Cooper, Arthur John Langguth, etc., and who penned the article below back in 1962:

Nguyen Ngoc Bich, Vietnam—An Independent Viewpoint | The China Quarterly | Cambridge Core
The China Quarterly , Volume 9 , March 1962 , pp. 105 - 111
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S030574100002525X

I will surely refer to your book, among others.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Loc Vu-Quoc

The actual Gen. Philip Gallagher was shown in a photo with Chinese Gen. Lu Han in Williams (2019) (US p.22, Gen. Gallagher).

Error in Vietnamese Wikipedia

In the article Đội Con Nai (OSS), version 16:15, ngày 22 tháng 6 năm 2023, the American officer in the inset photo on the right was referred to as "Chuẩn tướng Philip E. Gallagher" (Gen. Philip E. Gallagher).

Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh trong một buổi lễ mít tinh cứu đói tổ chức trước Nhà Hát lớn Hà Nội, tháng 9 năm 1945. Từ trái qua phải: Bộ trưởng Bộ Cứu tế xã hội Nguyễn Văn Tố, Chuẩn tướng Philip E. Gallagher, Cố vấn Vĩnh Thụy, Hồ Chí Minh, và Cố vấn Ngô Tử Hạ

After I informed the active Wikipedian Daobao1301 of the present document on 2023.06.22, Daobao1301 corrected the caption on 2023.06.23 to read "Đại tá Stephen L. Nordlinger" (Col. Stephen L. Nordlinger).

See the differences between the two versions at: "Đội Con Nai (OSS)", compare version 16:15, ngày 22 tháng 6 năm 2023 TO version 13:04, ngày 23 tháng 6 năm 2023.

Brocheux 2007

Ho Chi Minh: A Biography

Brocheux, Pierre (2007), *Ho Chi Minh: A Biography*, translated by Claire Duiker, Cambridge University Press, New York.

HB p.89, Major Patti

Thereafter, Ho was registered in Fenn's list of correspondents as "Lucius." He flew to Paise, near Jingxi, with two Chinese-Americans, Frank Tan and the radio operator Mac Shinn, accompanied as always by his bodyguard Phung The Tai. After November 1944 and the Japanese capture of Guilin and Nanning, Zhang Fakui and the headquarters of the 4th Military Command had fallen back to Paise. This [village near Jingxi city, Baise prefecture, Guangxi province, China, near Cao Bang province, Vietnam; More info on Jingxi] was where Ho had his first meeting with Major Archimedes Patti, Chief of the OSS in Indochina; the two men met again in autumn 1945—but this time in Hanoi.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.
See also More info on Jingxi.

HB p.91, Ho in Tan Trao, 1945 May 4

Page 91
ON 4 MAY 1945, HO MOVED TO TAN TRAO, A VILLAGE TO THE EAST OF Tuyen Quang in the Viet Minh stronghold, less than eighty kilometers from Hanoi. From there, he pressured the United States to send liaison agents, as well as instructors, for "the one thousand guerrillas" that he claimed were present in the region of Cho Chu-Dinh Hoa. The Viet Minh were looking for a place to set up a landing strip for their airplanes, but the Americans made the first move. On 17 July, they parachuted in the Deer Team under the command of Major Allison Thomas. Thomas was immediately impressed by the warm welcome given by "Mister Hoe," who "speaks excellent English but is very weak physically.... He received us most cordially."{85} The Deer Team stayed until 9 September and got as far as Hanoi with two hundred guerrillas, trained and instructed by Thomas in the use of the latest weapons.

Chester L. Cooper

The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam

Cooper, Chester L. (1970), *The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam*, Dood, Mead & Company, New York.

LC p.121

One of the curious aspects of the Vietnamese struggle for independence has been the readiness on the part of ardent anti-French nationalists to take up residence in France. For some, particularly those close to Bao Dai, France provided an amiable atmosphere in which they could practice their professions (primarily in the fields of law, medicine, and engineering) and their children could pursue an education. For others, especially the non-Communist members of the Viet Minh, France was a refuge; they were unwelcome throughout both Viet Minh and French-controlled areas of Vietnam. When the fight against the French was approaching a climax in late 1953 and early 1954, a large number of Vietnamese were living in Paris. They comprised a heterogeneous and fractionalized community, frustrated by their inability to exert meaningful influence on the course of events in Vietnam, and guilty about being expatriates. Some were Catholics and conservatives, some were Communists, some were apolitical, opportunistic Francophiles. All tended to be what one Vietnamese described as *strategistes aux affaires du commerce*. The opponents of Bao

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

LC p.122

Dai were especially frustrated— caught as they were between the French and Vietnamese ruling groups. Scheming and plotting were rife. But among these expatriate Vietnamese were some genuine nationalists.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

Devillers 1952

Histoire du Vietnam

Devillers, Philippe (1952), *Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris.

Comment on Devillers 1952

Patti, Archimedes (1980), *Why Viet Nam? Prelude to America's Albatross*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, p.572. Patti wrote of Devillers (1952), WV p.572:

> The most accurate French account of the period; barring several omissions and minor inaccuracies generally attributable to his sources and to the lack of American documentation, it is by far one of the more reliable histories.

Go to Patti 1980, WV p.572 Comment on Devillers 1952.

HV p.103, pdf p.107, Ho arrested for Communistic activities

Pendant ce temps, le groupe Viêt-Minh demeuré au Kwang Si se livre à une active propagande pour rallier les émigrés annamites de la province et ceux réfugiés au Yunnan, qui pour la plupart appartiennent à d'autres organisations. Mais le caractère typiquement communiste de cette propagande frappe bientôt les autorités chinoises. Tout de suite, elles s'inquiètent de voir cette activité s'exercer dans cette région frontière, si menacée. Elles réagissent violemment. Fin 1941 ou début 1942 (on ne sait), elles font procéder soudain à l'arrestation de Nguyen Ai Quoc, qui est incarcéré, semble-t-il, à la prison de Lieu Tchéou. Dans le même temps, l'attitude chinoise à l'égard du Viêt-Minh devient extrêmement menaçante : surveillance policière, sabotage des liaisons et de la propagande, etc... Pour le P.C.I., l'orage, cette fois, vient de Chine.

Misprints in HV p.103: Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho) arrested on 1942.08.28

See EW Misprint 2a, where it is documented that Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho) was not arrested in "1941 or at the beginning of 1942," but toward the end of 1942, exactly on 1942 Aug 28, with the pretext of being a "French spy." Devillers (1952) did not get the dates as exact as in Patti (1980). See also Comment on Devillers (1952) in Patti (1980).

HV p.105, pdf p.109, Why Nguyen Ai Quoc became Ho Chi Minh

"Nguyen Ai Quoc" changed his name to "Ho Chi Minh" to avoid being recognized as a Communist agent, and thus can be freed from prison by Chiang Fa-kwei.

> Cependant, l'expérience tentée avec Nguyen Hai Than s'avérait désastreuse. Les groupes nationalistes qu'il représentait n'étaient pas en mesure de monter un réseau d 'espionnage digne de ce nom. Le Viet-Minh d'autre part savait, dans le territoire où il opérait, éliminer la concurrence. Au bout de quelques mois, l'échec de Nguyen Hai 'l'han devint patent. A Chungking, la tendance était d'en tenir le général Chiang Fa-kwei, soupçonné de sympathie pour le gouvernement proJap de Nankin, pour responsable conscient et direct. La position du général se trouvait ainsi mise en jeu par l'affaire annamite."
>
> Dans sa prison, Nguyen Ai Quoc a appris les ennuis des Chinois. Il fait savoir à Chiang Fa-kwei que s 'il accepte de le libérer, il réorganisera pour le compte chinois le réseau d 'espionnage au Tonkin. Chiang Fa-kwei est séduit : mais la réputation de communiste de Nguyen Ai Quoc est susceptible de provoquer le refus de Chungking. Pour résoudre la question, Nguyen Ai Quoc décide, une fois de plus, de changer de nom.

Il s 'appellera désormais Hô Chi Minh ("Celui qui éclaire"). Et Chiang Fa-kwei informe Chiang Kai-shek qu'il a à sa disposition un militant révolutionnaire annamite très capable, qui s'offre à diriger l'espionnage et l'agitation en Indochine. Hô Chi Minh ? Tout le monde ignore ce nom à Chungking. Le gouvernement chinois accepte. Libéré, Hô Chi Minh est nommé officiellement chef du "Viet-Nam Cach Dong Minh Hoi" (février 1943). Il recevra désormais les CN $ 100.000 par attribués jusque-là à Nguyen Hai Than.

Misprints in HV p.105: Ho released from prison in 1943 Feb

The month of 1943 Feb mentioned in Devillers (1952) was not correct. The exact date of the release of Ho from prison is 1943 Sep 10, as mentioned in Patti (1980); see Misprint in EW p.77.

HV, p.125, pdf p129, Bao Dai proclamation of Vietnam independence, 1945 Mar 11

Le 11 mars, une proclamation impériale, contresigné par le Comât (Conseil des Ministres) entier, consacré, en des termes pour le moins curieux, le succès japonais.

" Vu la situation mondiale, et celle de l'Asie en particulier, le Gouvernement du Viet-Nam proclame publiquement qu'à dater de ce jour, le traité de protectorat avec la France est aboli et que le Pays reprend ses droits à l'indépendance.

Le Viet-Nam s'efforcera par ses propres moyens de se développer pour mériter la condition d'un Etat indépendant et suivra les directives du Manifesto de la Grande Asie Orientale, en se considérant comme un élément de la Grande Asie Orientale, pour apporter l'aide de ses ressources à la prospérité commune. Aussi le Gouvernement du Viet-Nam fait-il confiance à la loyauté du Japon et est-il déterminé à collaborer avec ce pays pour atteindre le but précité.

Respect à ceci,
Bao Dai

Hue, 27° jour du 1er mois de la 20e année Bao Dai (11 Mars 1945)
Le Comât (Conseil des Ministres) entier a signé:

Intérieur : Pham Quynh. Finances : Ho Dac Khai. Rites : Ung Hy.	Justice : Bui Bang Doan. Education: Tran Thanh Dat. Economie: Truong Nhu Dinh.

HV p.135, pdf p.139, Ho gave order for general uprising 1945.08.10

Le 6 août la bombe d'Hiroshima scelle le destin du Japon. Le moment décisif approche. Le 7, Hô Chi Minh met en place son dispositif : les guérillas prennent le nom d' « Armée de Libération du Viêt-Nam ». Un Congrès National, formé des représentants des associations Viêt-Minh, élit le « Comité de Libération du Peuple Vietnamien{2} ». L'ordre de se rapprocher de Hanoi est donné. Le 10 août, Hô Chi Minh lance le mot d'ordre de l 'insurrection générale.

Footnote {2}

2. Il comprend : Hô Chi Minh, président; Tran Huy Lieu, vice-président. Membres : Vô Nguyen Giap, Pham Van Dong, Chu Van Tan, Nguyen Luong Bang, Duong Duc Hien, Vu Dinh Hoe, Cu Huy Can, Nguyen Van Xuyen.

HV p.138, pdf p.142, Bao Dai to de Gaulle 1945 Aug 20

« Je m'adresse au peuple de France, au pays de ma jeunesse. Je m'adresse aussi à son chef et libérateur et je veux parler en ami plus qu'en Chef d'Etat. Vous avez trop souffert pendant quatre mortelles années pour ne pas comprendre que le peuple vietnamien, qui a 20 siècles d'histoire et un passé souvent glorieux, ne veut plus, ne peut plus supporter aucune domination ni aucune administration étrangère.

Vous comprendriez encore mieux si vous pouviez voir ce qui se passe ici, si vous pouviez sentir cette volonté d'indépendance qui couvait au fond de tous les cœurs et qu'aucune force humaine ne peut plus comprimer. Même si vous arriviez à rétablir ici une administration française, elle ne serait plus obéie : chaque village serait un nid de résistance, chaque ancien collaborateur un ennemi, et vos fonctionnaires et vos colons eux-mêmes demanderaient à sortir de cette atmosphère irrespirable.

Je vous prie de comprendre que le seul moyen de sauvegarder les intérêts français et l'influence spirituelle de la France en Indochine est de reconnaître franchement l'indépendance du Viêt-Nam et de renoncer à toute idée de rétablir ici la souveraineté ou une administration française sous quelque forme que ce soit. Nous pourrions si facilement nous entendre et devenir des amis si vous vouliez cesser de prétendre à redevenir nos maîtres.

Faisant appel à l'idéalisme bien connu du peuple français et à la grande sagesse de son Chef, nous espérons que la paix et la joie qui ont sonné pour tous les peuples du monde seront assurés également à tous les habitants tant autochtones qu'étrangers de 1'Indochine.

Bao Dai »

HV p.151, pdf p.155, Major Patti

La veille, après une équipée extraordinaire, Sainteny et quatre compagnons ont débarqué à Gia Lam (aérodrome d'Hanoi) d'un Dakota de 1'U.S. Air Force, avec le chef de 1'O.S.S., le major italo-américain Patti.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

HV p.156, pdf p.160, British-French arrived 1945.09.12

Depuis le 12 septembre [1945] en effet,par petits paquets, les troupes alliées arrivent par avion : une compagnie française du 5ème RIC, un bataillon gurkha de la 20ème division indienne du général Douglas D. Gracey, que Mountbatten a désignée pour opérer le désarmement des Japonais en Indochine du Sud.

HV p.238, pdf p.242, Leclerc entered Hanoi, flew French and Viet Minh flags

Dès le premier contact, il mettra Ho Chi Minh en confiance. « Alors, Monsieur le Président, on est d'accord maintenant ? » s'écriera-t-il de sa voix dure, un peu trainante, en s'avançant la main largement ouverte vers le vieux révolutionnaire... Comme il a fait mettre à tous ses véhicules des drapeaux français et vietnamiens, il a demandé, pour sa villa, une garde mixte de 15 Français et de 15 Viêts.

Fenn 1973

Fenn, Charles (1973), *Ho Chi Minh: A Biographical Introduction*, Studio Vista, London.

Ho Chi Minh: A Biography Introduction

HBI p.81, Ho Chi Minh's political acumen, American-backing ruse that worked

The courier (one of Ho's agents) who brought these letters spoke good French and we had a long talk. My diary records the substance of the story he gave me:

Since Ho was away so long there were rumours he had died. Others said he had gone to America. Then suddenly we heard he had arrived in Ching Hsi in an American plane. We could hardly believe it. Then when he arrived at base he had with him this ChineseAmerican as well as a radio operator and all sorts of weapons, better than anything either the French or Japanese had. Uncle Ho arrived very ill after his long hard walk [the walk Tan had written about], over two weeks, walking only at night, raining most of the time. When he got well enough he invited all the top leaders to a conference, not his own people, but rivals working for other groups, who had used his absence to push themselves forward. Ho told them he had now secured the help of the Americans including Chennault. At first nobody really believed him. Then he produced the photograph of Chennault signed 'Yours sincerely'. After this he sent for the automatic pistols and gave one to each of the leaders as a present. The leaders considered Chennault had sent these presents personally. After this conference there was never any more talk about who was the top leader.

Soon after, we dropped in a load of supplies; radio sets, medicines, gadgets, weapons. OSS supplied us with most of this as they had the bulk of supplies. According to Tan, this drop caused a sensation and Ho's stock went up another ten points. AGAS wouldn't agree to my dropping in, so we dropped in a young AGAS officer named Phelan. He had been reluctant to go on this particular mission because he heard that Ho was a communist. Within a week of his arrival he was sending back wires to prove that Ho wasn't in the least a communist: we had it all wrong. For instance one of his wires:

RE DEAL WITH FRENCH YOU ARE MISUNDERSTANDING VIETMINH ATTITUDE THEY NOT ANTI-FRENCH MERELY PATRIOTS DESERVE FULL TRUST AND SUPPORT.

Robert Shaplen quotes a statement Phelan sent him later, describing Ho's camp: 'Four huts, each twelve feet square, set four feet off the ground on bamboo stakes, and Ho's was as bare as the others'. Amongst other things Phelan mentions that Ho asked his advice about the opening words of the American Declaration of Independence, which he wanted to incorporate in his own Declaration. "But he actually seemed to know more about it than I did," says Phelan. Having begun his mission by grumbling to us that Ho was a communist, Phelan ended his statement to Shaplen by saying, 'He was an awfully sweet guy. If I had to pick out the one quality about that little old man sitting on his hill in the jungle, it was his gentleness.'{10}

Note {10}: Robert Shaplen (1966), *The Lost Revolution: Vietnam 1945-1965*, Andre Deutsch Limited, London, p.29 (in this edition, not p.31 as stated in Fenn's book).

Krull 1945

Diary of Saigon

Krull, Germaine 1945, *Diary of Saigon, Following the Allied Occupation in September 1945*, Internet Archive 2024.11.19
Krull, "Dairy [sic], Following the Allied Occupation in September 1945," [2], entry for September 17, 1945, p. [12], Folder 07, Box 02, Douglas Pike Collection, The Vietnam Center and Archive, Texas Tech University, www.vietnam.ttu.edu/reports/images.php?img=/images/241/2410207001.pdf .) (accessed December 27, 2018).

K45, p.1, pdf p.4, Krull arrived on 1945 Sep 12

1945 Sep 12, arrival
[NOTE: For events around 1945 Sep 12, see Patti 1980, WV p.455, pdf p.484, 1945 Sep 12-13 British-French arrived, Germaine Krull]
The transport planes carrying British troops arrived in Saigon at one o'clock, the first Allied troops to reach Indo-China. They were General Gracey's first detachment of Indian Gurkhas. We had left Rangoon at three o'clock that morning. I was the only woman and one of the three correspondents to accompany these handsome, impeccable Gurkhas -- like over-grown children -- and their Scotch commanding officer.

I could not imagine What Saigon would be like. In Rangoon, I had learned from Jean Hertricht, the other French correspondent who was with us, that the Annamites had staged a violent demonstration and that there had been fighting and revolution for ten days [from 1945 Sep 2]. All our information, however, was vague and we actually know very little, only that there had been skirmishes and that the Annaruites were rebelling under ColoniaL. rule. No one really knew what was going on. We might be heading into anything, even a massacre.

The French cheered wildly and were overjoyed to see us. When we arrived at the Continental, the hotel being used for Allied officers, in the heart of town, we were surrounded by the entire French population of Saigon which had gathered there. A heavy Japanese guard was stationed on the ground floor of the hotel to insure [sic, "ensure"] our safety. The French crowded around, literally throwing themselves upon us. A small group of Annamites, standing in a circle close by, watched us with curiosity. It is impossible to describe that mob and their frantic welcome. In an instant I was surrounded and bombarded with questions: "Are you French?" "Have you just come from there?" "How is Marseille? Dijon? Rouen? Tours? Limoges?" "What is Paris like?" "How is everything in France?" "What is the cost of living?" "Have you had any mail?" "Do you know if my mother, my father, my children, my family are still living and where?" "Do you know such and such a village or town?" "What have you heard about this or that person?" "How soon will we be able to go home?" "How much meat do you get each week?" "How much are eggs and butter?" "How is Normandy?" "Have the vineyards suffered much?" "When are the French troops coming?" "How much longer do we have to put up with this Annamite trash?" "Is travel easy in France?" "How much destruction has there been?" This flood of questions went on for hours and hours. It took me two hours to get from the entrance of the hotel to the stairway. I was in a sweat and. completely exhausted. No sooner had I broken away from them than I was engulfed by another wave of humanity. But for a British friend who rescued me by force I don't think I could have managed to get away from that mob.

K45, p.5-6, pdf p.2-3, 1945 Mar 9 Japanese coup de force

After 1945 Mar 9 Japanese coup de force
Then came the 9th of March, the darkest day in the history of Indo-China.

'The entire French population was made to remain in Saigon and from that day on suffered many indignities, including imprisonment, at the hands of the Japanese Secret Police. But it was only an operetta compared to the regime in France under the Germans. They suffered mainly in that their ease and comfort were greatly reduced. They were deprived of their houses, their cars and their freedom to circulate. People who had formerly enjoyed privacy were forced to move under a common roof with friends and others.

It seems that little by little the Japanese let the Annamites take over the reins of the Administration. Since the French troops were in internment and the French civilians without arms upon the surrender of Japan, the Japanese troops continued to be responsible for order on behalf of the Allies until the arrival of the English.

K45, p.6, pdf p.3, 1945 Sep 2 Independence Day, Dark Sunday in Saigon

1945 Sep 2, Independence Day, Hanoi; Dark Sunday, Saigon
Then, came the second of September, the other fateful date. On that day the Annamites held a huge demonstration in the streets of Saigon. According to varying estimates, anywhere from 2,000 to 20,000 took part in it.

The French were watching from behind shuttered windows. At a given moment several shots rang out and the rioting started. An enraged mob rushed into the houses. Women and children were beaten up and men taken off to prison. A smoldering hatred was suddenly unleashed. The enemy was yesterday's houseboy and coolie seeking revenge on his former master. Five French and some Annamites were killed. No one knows what might have happened to the women and children during the fighting if Allied prisoners of war had not scaled the walls of their Japanese camp and brought them back there for protection. They were helped by the few American officers who were in Saigon at the time. The Continental Hotel was bought for the price of one piaster, and from that day on became the property of the Allies. That day and the following night were extremely tense.

All those who had been taken to prison were released in a day or two through the efforts of the Allied officers and of Colonel Cedile. He was the civilian representative of the new Government of French IndO-China, who had parachuted in at the end of August. The Viet-Minh administration in power cooperated with him and the Allies and threw the entire blame for the revolt on the local French. They maintained that the Jo'rench had been the first to fire.

K45, p.16, pdf p.20, First Indochina War began 1945 Sep 23

1945 Sep 23, First Indochina War began
It is impossible to describe this day, which marked the beginning of the war in Indo-China. I went all over town on foot and by car, in the company of Cédille [correct spelling according to Sainteny 1972], of various officers and journalists, and alone. I saw everything with my own eyes - Annamitas tied up, some of them tortured, drunken officers and soldiers with smoking guns.

On the Rue Catinat, I saw soldiers driving before them a group of Annamites bound, slave-fashion, to a long rope. Women spat in their faces. They were on the verge of being lynched.

In more distant sections I saw French soldiers come out of Annamite houses with stolen shoes and shirts, saying: "At least, we will be able to wear clean linen this evening …. "

"Aren't you ashamed of plundering like the Annamites?" I asked them. "Certainly not", they replied, "They have been stealing from us for months."

From time to time, an Annamite dwelling would burst into flame. Women and children were fleeing. That night, French soldiers strolled on the Rue Catinat, a gun on one arm, a woman on the other. I have never been so deeply ashamed as on that day of September 23rd. When I returned to the hotel, the faces of the English were expressionless and conversations stopped as I went by. I remember the horror and shame I had felt in June of 1940 when Vichy was established, but never in my life had I felt such utter sadness and degradation as on this night.

That night I realized only too well what a serious mistake we had made and how grave the consequences would be. It was the beginning of a ruthless war. Instead of regaining our prestige we had lost it forever, and worse still, we had lost the trust of the few remaining Annamites who believed in us. We had showed them that the new France was even more to be feared than the old one.

Logevall 2012

Internet Archive

https://archive.org/search?query=logevall

Embers of War (pdf page = page + 24)

Logevall, Fredrik (2012), *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*, Random House, New York, retrieved 12 Apr 2012, 864 pp. Winner of the 2013 Pulitzer Prize in History: "*For a distinguished and appropriately documented book on the history of the United States, Ten thousand dollars ($10,000).* A balanced, deeply researched history of how, as French colonial rule faltered, a succession of American leaders moved step by step down a road toward full-blown war" • Winner of the 2013 Francis Parkman Prize from the Society of American Historians • Winner of the 2013 American Library in Paris Book Award • Winner of the Council on Foreign Relations 2013 Gold Medal Arthur Ross Book Award • Finalist for the 2013 Cundill Prize in Historical Literature.

https://archive.org/details/embersofwarfallo0000loge

EW p.9, pdf p.31, Francophile anticolonialist

Page 9
French teachings and models over Confucian ones. Some of these teachings were, to say the least, unhelpful to the colonial enterprise. Voltaire's condemnation of tyranny, Rousseau's embrace of popular sovereignty, and Victor Hugo's advocacy of liberty and defense of workers' uprisings turned some Vietnamese into that curious creature found also elsewhere in the empire: the Francophile anticolonialist. These early nationalists also drew encouragement from Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, which showed conclusively that Asians could triumph over European power. By 1907, alarmed colonial military officials could report the existence of "revolutionary and subversive theories" among indigenous troops, and in the succeeding years exiled leaders, many of them in Japan, flooded their homeland with anti-French pamphlets and poems. In colonial prisons, meanwhile, squalid conditions and overcrowding in common rooms fueled nationalist agitation. For a time, French authorities kept a lid on the agitation, and by the outbreak of World War I in 1914 they felt sufficiently secure to leave only 2,500 European military personnel in Indochina."

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

EW p.34, pdf p.58, 1940 repression

And indeed, French authority in Indochina remained formidable, as Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist Party learned firsthand in the fall of 1940. Sensing opportunity with the fall of France in June, the ICP in the autumn launched uprisings in both Tonkin and Cochin China against French authorities, only to be brutally crushed. In Cochin China, the French used their few aircraft as well as armored units and artillery to destroy whole villages, killing hundreds in the process. Up to eight thousand people were detained, and more than one hundred ICP cadres were executed. Not until early 1945 would the party's southern branch recover from this defeat.[27]

Misprint in EW p.34: French killed "hundreds" in 1940 (emailed to Logevall, 2023 May 4-6)
NOTE: I communicated this Misprint in EW p.34, previously labeled as "EW Misprint 1," to Logevall on 2023 May 4-6).

Logevall 2012 misquoted Marr (1984, p.400), who wrote that the French were "killing thousands of people," and who provided three sources. But Logevall 2012 also referred to *Histoire de la révolution d'août* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Press, 1977), 19-22, which I could not check. In my email to Logevall on 2023.05.06, I included excerpts from Devillers 1952, pp.79-80. ENDNOTE

Logevall's reply

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Vu, Loc Quoc** <vql@illinois.edu>
Date: Sat, May 6, 2023 at 8:06 PM
Subject: Fw: Embers of War, correction or misprint? Fredrik Logevall
To: fredrik_logevall@harvard.edu <fredrik_logevall@harvard.edu>, Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>

Dear Dr. Logevall,

I ordered an InterLibrary Loan of the classic Vietnam-history book by Philipped Devillers 1952, *Histoire du Viet-Nam de 1940 a 1952*, which I picked up yesterday. Today, while browsing through the book, I found what Devillers wrote on the brutal repression of the Vietminh in 1940, and want to share with you:

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Par tracts et par tous les moyens de propagande clandestine, les Communistes avaient, depuis juin 1940, appelé les masses à lutter contre « l'impérialisme français et le fascisme japonais ». Leurs préparatifs avaient rapidement pris en Cochinchine un caractère militaire prononcé. La création d'un « haut commandement militaire », chargé de la préparation de l'insurrection, avait été décidée, ainsi que la constitution de nombreuses sections d'autodéfense, composées d'éléments énergiques et courageux qui devaient être initiés aux questions politiques et à la tactique de guérilla. Dans les villes comme dans les campagnes, des zones d'agitation devaient être préparées cependant que des Comités fomenteraient la grève générale et des manifestations, provoqueraient finalement « l'insurrection armée qui permettrait la prise de pouvoir. »

Au Tonkin, où les effectifs français étaient beaucoup plus nombreux et où les Japonais arrivaient, les Communistes se montraient en revanche plus prudents. Le débarquement des Nippons à Haïphong les avait même obligés à replier sur la

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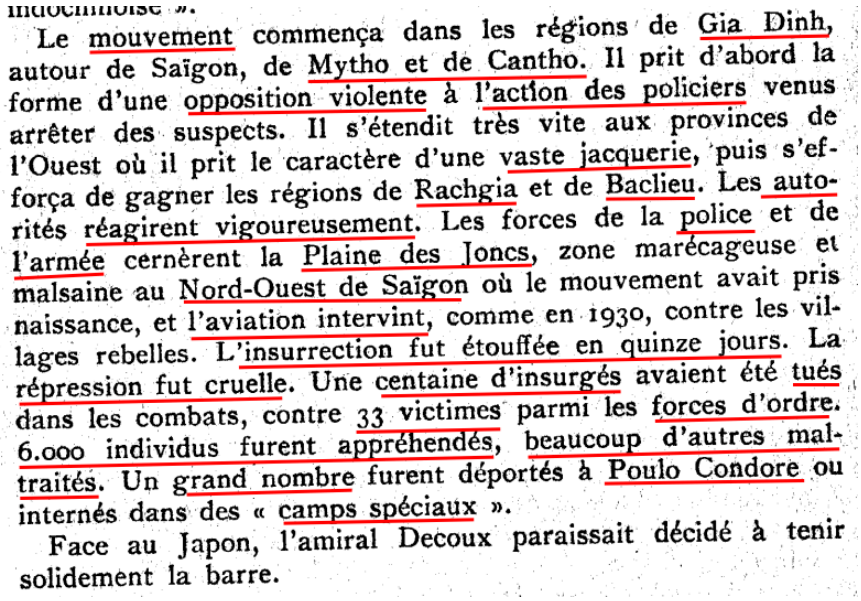
LA MONTÉE DES PÉRILS

Chine le Comité central qui s'y trouvait. Les liaisons entre le Comité Central et le Comité de Cochinchine s'étaient trouvées de ce fait interrompues.

Le Comité de Cochinchine, peu conscient des réalités, poussa à fond ses préparatifs. Le 22 novembre, à l'instigation de son aile gauche, il donnait l'ordre de profiter de la situation créée par la pression nippo-siamoise pour déclencher, le soir même, le mouvement insurrectionnel dont le but était la constitution d'un « Gouvernement populaire de la République Démocratique indochinoise ».



indochinoise ».

Le mouvement commença dans les régions de Gia Dinh, autour de Saïgon, de Mytho et de Cantho. Il prit d'abord la forme d'une opposition violente à l'action des policiers venus arrêter des suspects. Il s'étendit très vite aux provinces de l'Ouest où il prit le caractère d'une vaste jacquerie, puis s'efforça de gagner les régions de Rachgia et de Baclieu. Les autorités réagirent vigoureusement. Les forces de la police et de l'armée cernèrent la Plaine des Joncs, zone marécageuse et malsaine au Nord-Ouest de Saïgon où le mouvement avait pris naissance, et l'aviation intervint, comme en 1930, contre les villages rebelles. L'insurrection fut étouffée en quinze jours. La répression fut cruelle. Une centaine d'insurgés avaient été tués dans les combats, contre 33 victimes parmi les forces d'ordre. 6.000 individus furent appréhendés, beaucoup d'autres maltraités. Un grand nombre furent déportés à Poulo Condore ou internés dans des « camps spéciaux ».

Face au Japon, l'amiral Decoux paraissait décidé à tenir solidement la barre.

The numbers of Devillers were from the 1940s, and were off compared to those of David Marr, who may have access to more accurate data relative to what Devillers could obtain some forty years earlier.

Sincerely,
Loc Vu-Quoc

From: Logevall, Fredrik <fredrik_logevall@harvard.edu>
Sent: Friday, May 5, 2023 4:04 PM
To: Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>
Subject: Re: Embers of War, correction or misprint? Fredrik Logevall

Dear Loc Vu-Quoc,
Thanks for your email, and for drawing my attention to this issue in *Embers of War*. The mistake here is mine, I'm quite certain; I was not out to correct David Marr, an accomplished scholar of the period. I will endeavor to correct this in any future printings of the book.
Best wishes,
Fredrik Logevall

Fredrik Logevall | Laurence D. Belfer Professor of International Affairs | Professor of History | Harvard University |

From: Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>
Sent: Thursday, May 4, 2023 4:18 PM
To: fredrik_logevall@harvard.edu <fredrik_logevall@harvard.edu>; Vu, Loc Quoc <vql@illinois.edu>
Subject: Embers of War, correction or misprint? Fredrik Logevall

Dear Dr. Logevall,

I recently consulted your great Vietnam-history book, and noticed that on page 34, you wrote:

> "Sensing opportunity with the fall of France in June, the ICP in the autumn launched uprisings in both Tonkin and Cochin China against French authorities, only to be brutally crushed. In Cochin China, the French used their few aircraft as well as armored units and artillery to destroy whole villages, killing hundreds in the process. Up to eight thousand people were detained, and more than one hundred ICP cadres were executed. Not until early 1945 would the party's southern branch recover from this defeat.[27]"

Your Note 27 referred to Marr 1984, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial: 1920 to 1945*, page 400, in which Marr wrote in Footnote 87:

> "87. These uprisings occurred in Bac Son near the Sino-Vietnamese border and in eight provinces of Cochinchina. The latter outbreak was especially debilitating, as the French employed aircraft, armored units, and artillery to destroy whole villages and kill thousands of people. Up to 8,000 people were detained and more than one hundred ICP cadres executed. The southern branch of the ICP would not pull itself together again until early 1945. Le Due Ton, Bac Son Khoi Nghia [The Bac Son Uprising], 4th printing (Hanoi, 1946). CMCD-10, pp. 17-30. Discussion with Tran Van Giau, Ho Chi Minh City, 25 March 1980."

The number of Vietnamese killed differed by a factor of ten.

I would like to check with you whether you intended to correct Marr, or was it a misprint in your book.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Loc Vu-Quoc

EW p.34, pdf p.59, Pac Bo, Cao Bang province

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YET IN THIS GLOOMIEST OF HOURS FOR THE VIETNAMESE COMMUnists would occur one of the key developments in the thirty-five-year struggle for Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh had objected to the uprisings, con- sidering them premature, but he was convinced that, with international events moving fast and Decoux's government isolated from metropoli- tan France, the potential for revolution in Vietnam was much enhanced. Along with other party leaders, he determined that there should be a plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee in the spring of 1941. For symbolic reasons, they agreed, the meeting should occur on Vietnamese soil. In the early weeks of that year, Ho Chi Minh slipped across the frontier from China by sampan and set up headquarters in a cave near the hamlet of Pac Bo, in Cao Bang province. It was the first time in three decades he had set foot in his native country. And it was not far inside either—Pac Bo, which Ho reached by traversing forty miles through thick jungle growth and over steep mountains, was less than a mile from the Chinese frontier. Near the cave ran a small stream that Ho named for his hero Lenin and a massive outgrowth that he dubbed Karl Marx Peak.

"Misprint" in EW p.34: Cave Coc Bo near Pac Bo hamlet
[NOTE: I communicated this "misprint 3" to Logevall on 2022.05.27. ENDNOTE]

This is not a misprint, but an improvement for accuracy by adding some info on this historic cave.

EW p.34 Pac Bo, Cao Bang province: “In the early weeks of that year, Ho Chi Minh slipped across the frontier from China by sampan and set up headquarters in a cave near the hamlet of Pac Bo, in Cao Bang province. It was the first time in three decades he had set foot in his native country.”

☛ The name of the cave in which Ho Chi Minh took shelter was “Coc Bo” (or Cốc Bó in Vietnamese; see map).

☛ Brocheux 2007, HB p.73: “*The Founding of the Viet Minh*.” “Nguyen Ai Quoc’s first initiative upon arriving at Pac Bo was to convene an expanded Central Committee to define a strategy more suited to the new situation. On 28 February 1941, Quoc summoned as many of the leaders as he could reach, making sure that the meeting was held on “our nation’s soil.” From 10 to 19 May 1941, the meeting of the Eighth Central Committee was held in the cave of Coc Bo.”

☛ Inside the Coc Bo cave, there is a robust stalagmite (mineral deposits on the cave floor) named “Karl Marx” (or “Các Mác” in Vietnamese), which is not to be confused with the mountain (or limestone “outgrowth” or limestone hill) outside the cave that Ho Chi Minh named Karl Mark Peak (or “Núi Các Mác” in Vietnamese; see map).

Cave (Hang) Cốc Bó near Pac Bo village (or hamlet) (left) - Stalagmites (right)

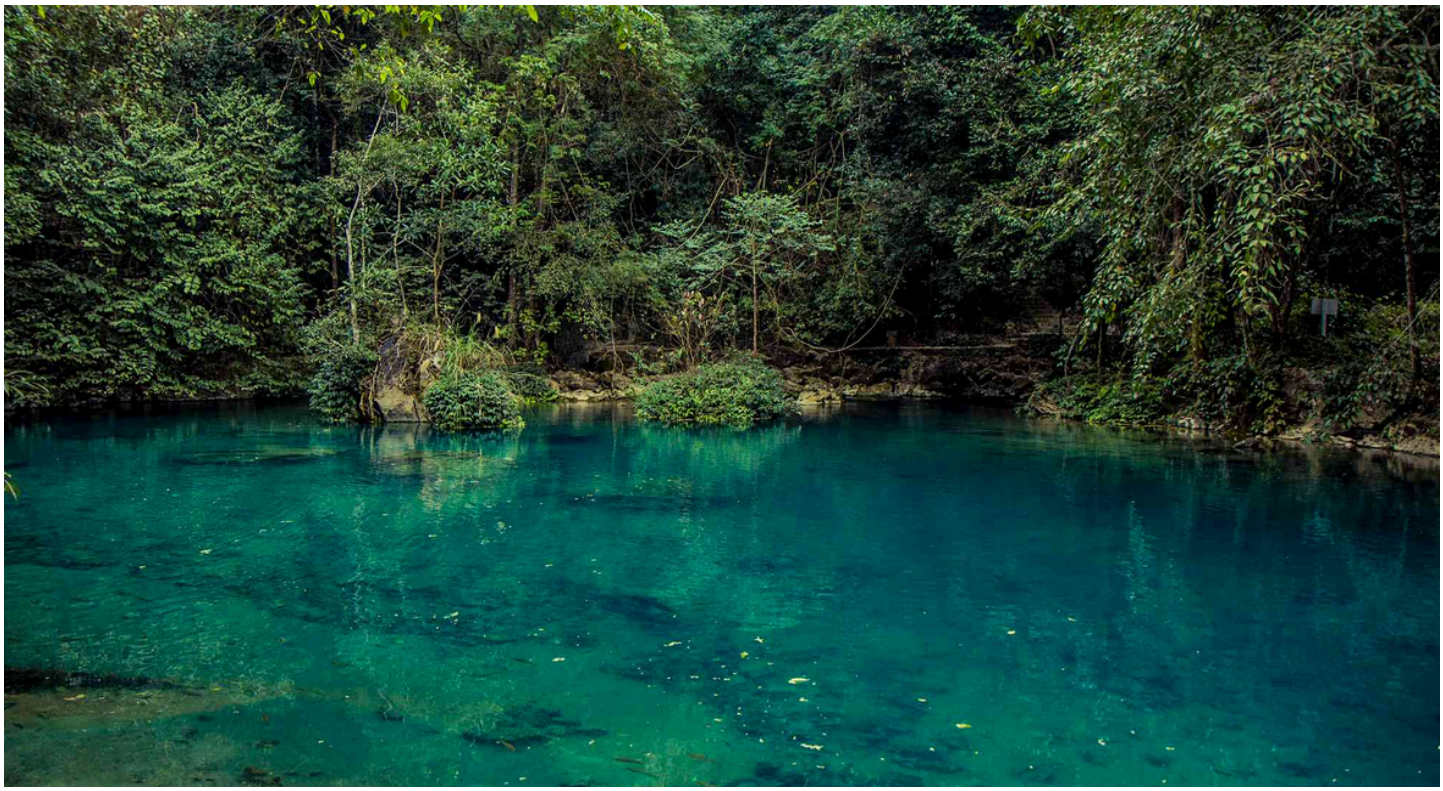
Pac Bo in Cao Bang - Ho Chi Minh's cave & stunning stream

Pac Bo is on the border with China. When Ho Chi Minh came out of Guangxi province in January 1941, he set foot on Vietnamese soil for the first time in thirty years. He settled in a Nung village, but soon moved to the cave. There he coordinated the independence movement and began the Vietnamese translation of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the end, Ho Chi Minh only lived there for 7 weeks, in February and March 1941.

When the French discovered his hideout, Ho had to move again, this time to a cabin in the jungle close to where the Vietminh was founded in May 1941. Later that year, he went to China to seek support for his army under construction. His next visit to Pac Bo was as a tourist in 1961 after independence.

In the Coc Bo cave, a robust stalagmite was named *Karl Marx*, likely by Ho Chi Minh, who named the crystal-clear spring outside the cave after *Lenin*, and a nearby mountain *Karl Marx Peak*. See also Pac Bo Cave.

Stalagmites, meaning "that which drops" in Greek, are mineral deposits on the cave floor due to water dropping from the stalactites hanging down from the cave ceiling above, and can take various fascinating shapes, which "people have compared them to broomsticks, totem poles, toadstools, bathtubs, Christmas trees, beehives, coins and buttons, and even fried eggs." See Speleothems - Caves and Karst (U.S. National Park Service)



https://localvietnam.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/pac-bo-vietnam.jpg

Karl Marx stalagmite inside the Coc Bo (Cốc Bó) cave.

Stalagmites
Stalagmites are convex floor deposits built up by water dripping from an overhead stalactite or from the cave ceiling. Because falling water droplets tend to splash, stalagmites spread out as they gradually build up from the floor. Hence, they do not have central, hollow tubes like stalactites. Stalagmites are usually larger in diameter than the stalactites above them and they generally have rounded tops instead of pointed tips.

"That which drops" is the Greek meaning of stalagmites. When a drop of water falls from the ceiling or stalactite, it still has some material left in solution. When the drop hits the floor, carbon dioxide is given off and carbonate material is precipitated as a mound below the point of dripping; or, if a noncarbonate mineral, evaporation causes precipitation of mineral material.

Stalagmites can assume a fascinating variety of shapes and people have compared them to broomsticks, totem poles, toadstools, bathtubs, Christmas trees, beehives, coins and buttons, and even fried eggs!

PAC BO Historical Site + Cave (Cao Bang) ➡️ | 2023 : NICE IMAGES

The above sign clearly shows the name of this historic cave ("hang" in Vietnamese) as Coc Bo.

• The village of Pac Bo is known mainly for the fact that Ho Chi Minh lived here for 7 weeks in the cave of Pac Bo (Hang Pắc Bó), also called Coc Bo Cave. It happened in 1941, after his return from abroad for 30 years. It was from Pac Bo that preparations began for Ho Minh's resistance led by the Viet Minh (Việt Minh) movement against French colonialism. And it resulted in the Indochina War of 1946-1954, in which Vietnam eventually won.

• There are other important places in the historical site of Pac Bo, such as the Le-Nin river (suöi Lé-Nin), the Cac Mac viewpoint — or also called the Karl Marx Mountain (Nüi Các Mắc), the Khuoi Nam hut (Lén Khu6i Nöm), Nguom Vai Cave, Lung Lan Cave, a small museum or pagoda, Ho Chi Minh Palace and shrine.

Search q=pac+bo+vietnam

Pác Bó - Wikipedia
Vietnam Iain Stewart "After 30 years of exile, Ho Chi Minh re-entered Vietnam in January 1941 and took shelter in a small cave in one of the most remote regions of Vietnam, 3km from the Chinese border. The cave itself, Hang Pac Bo (WaterWheel Cave) ..."

Lonely Planet Vietnam 15 (Travel Guide) Paperback – November 23, 2021
Iain Stewart, Damian Harper, Bradley Mayhew, Nick Ray. 4.7 / 5.0 by 179 reviews

Search
https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-1-d&q=Coc+Bo+cave+vietnam

Hang Coc Bo | Northeast Vietnam, Vietnam | Attractions - Lonely Planet

After 30 years of exile, Ho Chi Minh re-entered Vietnam in January 1941 and took shelter in this small cave in one of the most remote regions of Vietnam, 3km from the Chinese border. The cave and surrounding area are sacred ground for Vietnamese revolutionaries – this is the base from which Ho launched the revolution he'd long been planning.

Hang Coc Bo is 58km northwest of Cao Bang. For a return half-day trip by *xe om,* expect to pay at least 300,000d.

Ho Chi Minh lived in the cave for a few weeks in 1941, writing poetry and translating key texts by the fathers of socialism. He stuck close to China so that he would be able to flee across the border if French soldiers discovered his hiding place. Ho named the stream in front of his cave Lenin Creek and the jungle-clad mountain that overlooks this stream Karl Marx Peak.

Pac Bo village - The place President Ho Chi Minh chose to live and work after returning country

Tourists visit Pac Bo cave (also known as Coc Bo cave), where Uncle Ho's wooden board rests and there is a fireplace to warm the cold cave or a stone table where uncle sits to work, the rock Uncle sits on fishing…

The cave has an area of 80m2, and the entrance of the cave can only fit one person to enter. At the entrance of the cave, there is the inscription 8/2/1941 carved by Uncle Ho's hand to mark the time when Uncle came here to live.

Coc Bo Cave - 4 Things to Know Before Visiting

EW p.77, pdf p.109, Ho released from prison in August 1943

Page 77
And indeed, Ho Chi Minh's importance to the revolutionary cause in this period would be hard to exaggerate. He had been arrested in China in August 1942 by local authorities suspicious of his political activities; by his own estimate he then passed through eighteen prisons before winning his release in August 1943. During his incarceration, he kept in touch

Misprints in EW p.77: Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho) imprisoned for 13 months in China
[NOTE: I communicated this misprint in EW p.77, previously labeled as "misprint 2a," to Logevall on 2023.11.05. ENDNOTE]

Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho) was arrested by Chang Fa-Kwei on 1942 Aug 28 for being a "French spy," (which was a pretext) and after 13 months released from prison on 1943 Sep 10, not in "August 1943." The real reason for his arrest was his "Communistic" activities, which was more specific than just "political activities." Ho still used the name Nguyen Ai Quoc when he was arrested in 1942 Aug, and changed his name to Ho Chi Minh to facilitate his release in 1943 Sep.

Patti (1980), WV p.453, pdf p.482:
"1942 August 28: Ho Chi Minh crosses the border into China and is arrested by the Chinese authorities."
"1943 September 10: Ho Chi Minh is released from imprisonment by Chang Fa-kwei but remains in China to work with the Dong Minh Hoi."

Patti (1980), WV p.525, pdf p.554: "In August 1942 Ho Chi Minh in an attempt to interest the Allies in Chungking in his cause for independence crossed once more into China and was arrested by the Chinese as a "French spy" and jailed for a period of thirteen months."

Of course, Ho always had his "political activities" in China. He would not be arrested if he had worked for Chang Fa-Kwei of the Kuomintang. The reason for arresting Ho was that he was a "French spy" could be just a pretext. The real reason was spelled out in Devillers (1952) as being Communistic activities; see HV p.103.

See also Devillers (1952), HV p.105, pdf p.109, Why Nguyen Ai Quoc became Ho Chi Minh.

EW pp.84-85, pdf p.117-119

In April [1945], the OSS provided Ho Chi Minh with air transportation to Jiangxi [should be Guangxi, Misprint 2], not far from

EW p.85, Go to EW Misprint 3, EW Misprint 4.
the Vietnam border, and later OSS personnel joined the Viet Minh at Ho's headquarters at Pac Bo.

Misprint in EW pp.84-85: Jiangxi
[NOTE: I communicated this Misprint in EW pp.84-85, previously labeled as "misprint 2b," to Logevall starting on 2023.05.27. ENDNOTE]

Logevall EW pp.84-85: "In April [1945], the OSS provided Ho Chi Minh with air transportation to Jiangxi [which is too far from Vietnam, and should be Guangxi], not far from the Vietnam border, and later OSS personnel joined the Viet Minh at Ho's headquarters at Pac Bo," which is in the Cao Bang province, as mentioned in EW p.34.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jiangxi#/media/File:Jiangxi_in_China_(+all_claims_hatched).svg
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guangxi#/media/File:Guangxi_in_China_(+all_claims_hatched).svg
Jiangxi (left), and Guangxi (right)

More info on Jingxi (city, not Jiangxi province)

Brocheux 2007 HB p.89: "Thereafter, Ho was registered in Fenn's list of correspondents as "Lucius." He flew to Paise, near Jingxi, with two Chinese-Americans, Frank Tan and the radio operator Mac Shinn, accompanied as always by his bodyguard Phung The Tai."

There was a misprint in Brocheux 2007 HB p.89: "Paise" should be "Baise".

Jingxi is a county-level city inside the Baise prefecture-level city, which is inside the Guangxi province.

Baise has 2 districts, 2 County-level city, 7 counties, and 1 autonomous county.
District:

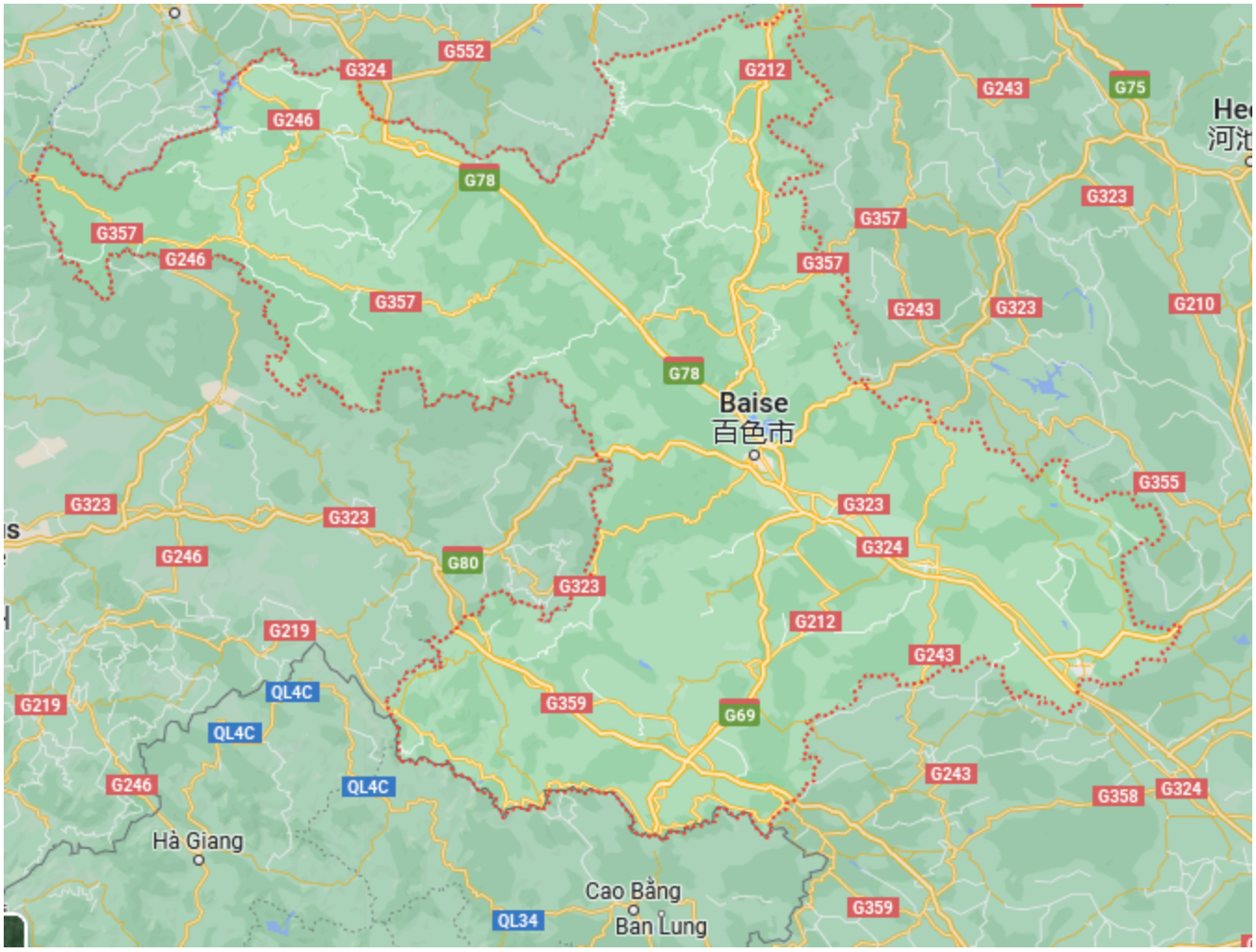
- Youjiang District (右江区)
- Tianyang District (田阳区)

County-level city:

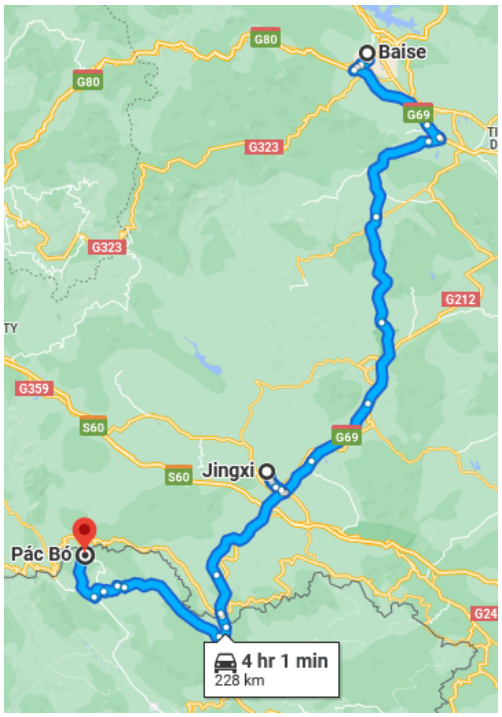
- Jingxi (靖西市)
- Pingguo (平果市)

See also Administrative divisions of China - Wikipedia

It would be clearer if Brocheux had written: He flew to Baise city (prefecture level), which is close to 2 hours by car in 2023 to Jingxi city (county level), both cities are in the Guangxi province. It would take another 2 hours by car in 2023 from Jingxi city to Pac Bo hamlet.



Map showing Baise prefecture and Cao Bang province



Baise city to Jingxi city, Baise city to Jingxi, then to Pac Bo : Go to WV, p.n3, map, Poseh.

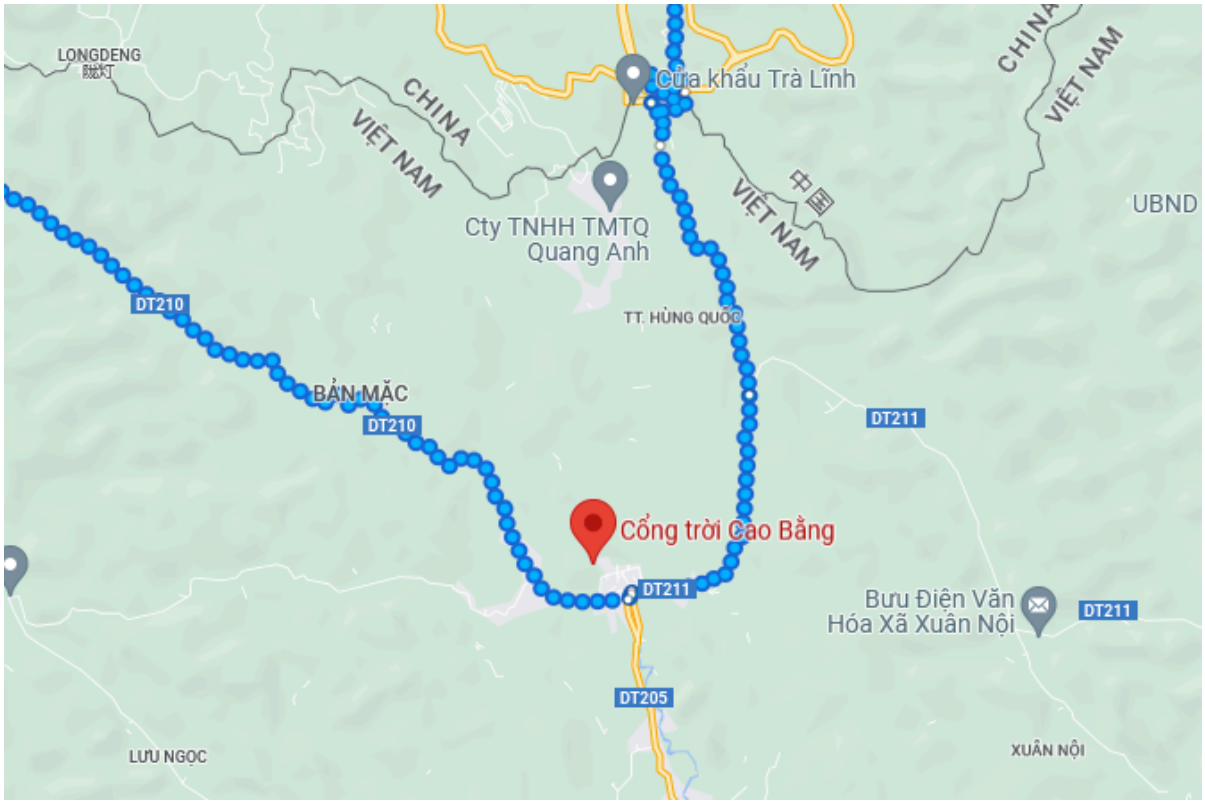
Jingxi, Baise, Guangxi, China TO Pác Bó, Trường Hà, Hà Quảng District, Cao Bang, Vietnam: It takes one day (close to 24 hours) to walk from Jingxi, Guangxi province, to Pac Bo, Cao Bang province.

Jingxi to Pac Bo, north of which the cave Coc Bo is less than one mile of bird-fly distance from border

Logevall 2012, EW p.34, pdf p.59: "Pac Bo, which Ho reached by traversing forty miles through thick jungle growth and over steep mountains, was less than a mile from the Chinese frontier."

The distance from Jingxi to Pac Bo by car is 92 km = 56 miles. It might not be safe to travel on this road in broad daylight, so Ho might take a shortcut through the mountains, and thus 40 miles.

Mountain scene at the Gate of Heaven, Cao Bang, on the road from Jingxi to Pac Bo..



Gate of Heaven, Cao Bang, on the road from Jingxi to Pac Bo

The sentence on EW p.34 could be rewritten for clarity as: Ho reached Pac Bo after traversing forty miles through thick jungle growth and over steep mountains. (Taking an easier, but longer, walk of 56 miles on the main road from Jingxi city to Pac Bo, in broad daylight might not be safe.) The cave Coc Bo, north of Pac Bo hamlet, where Ho took shelter, is less than one mile of bird-fly distance from the border.

Baise = Poseh = Paise, Jingxi = Ch'ing-Hsi = Chinghsi

There is a confusion on the different transliterations (romanizations) of Chinese characters:
Baise = Poseh = Paise, and Jingxi = Ch'ing-Hsi = Chinghsi in Patti 1980, *Why Viet Nam?* (WV) see map p.n3.

It is better to follow the transliteration in Google Maps for geographic names to allow for easy search.

The prison Tienpao, where Ho Chi Minh was held in 1942, could not be found on Google Maps.

Patti (1980), WV p.51: "Ho Chi Minh was a "'guest" of Chang Fa-kwei at the Tienpao prison when Wendell Willkie visited China in October 1942."

Tienpao prison, Chinese transliterations
jingxi | Definition | Mandarin Chinese Pinyin English Dictionary

靖西

Jìng xī

Jingxi county in Baise 百色[Bai3 se4], Guangxi

Chinese Studies -- Pinyin to Wade-Giles Conversion Table | Indiana University Libraries

Pinyin Jingxi
Pinyin Jing = Wade-Giles Ching

jing	ching

Pinyin Xi = Wade-Giles Hsi

xi	hsi

Hence, Pinyin Jingxi = Wade-Giles ChingHsi.

Pinyin Baise
Pinyin Bai = Wade-Giles Pai

bai	pai

Pinyin Se = Wade-Giles Se

se	se

Hence, Pinyin Baise = Wade-Giles Paise

Search "poseh" in pinyin

Poseh - Wiktionary

English
Etymology
Borrowed from Mandarin 百色 (Bósè).

Proper noun
Poseh
1. (dated) Synonym of Baise

Hence, “Poseh” is dated, and the modern equivalent is Baise (Pinyin).

List of prisons in Guangxi - Wikipedia : It is not clear whether there is a prison near Jingxi, let alone one named Tienpao.

Since Patti used the Wale-Giles transliteration, the conversion to the Pinyin transliteration is necessary for the search on Google Maps.

Chinese Studies -- Pinyin to Wade-Giles Conversion Table | Indiana University Libraries

Pinyin	Wade-Giles
dian	tien

Wade-Giles Tien (right) = Pinyin Dian (left)

bao	pao

Wade-Giles Pao (right) = Pinyin Bao (left)

Dianbao, Rongxian, Yulin, Guangxi, China, 537512
But the above “Dianbao” is east of Nanning, and too far east of Baise (and thus Jingxi city). Search the dictionary again:

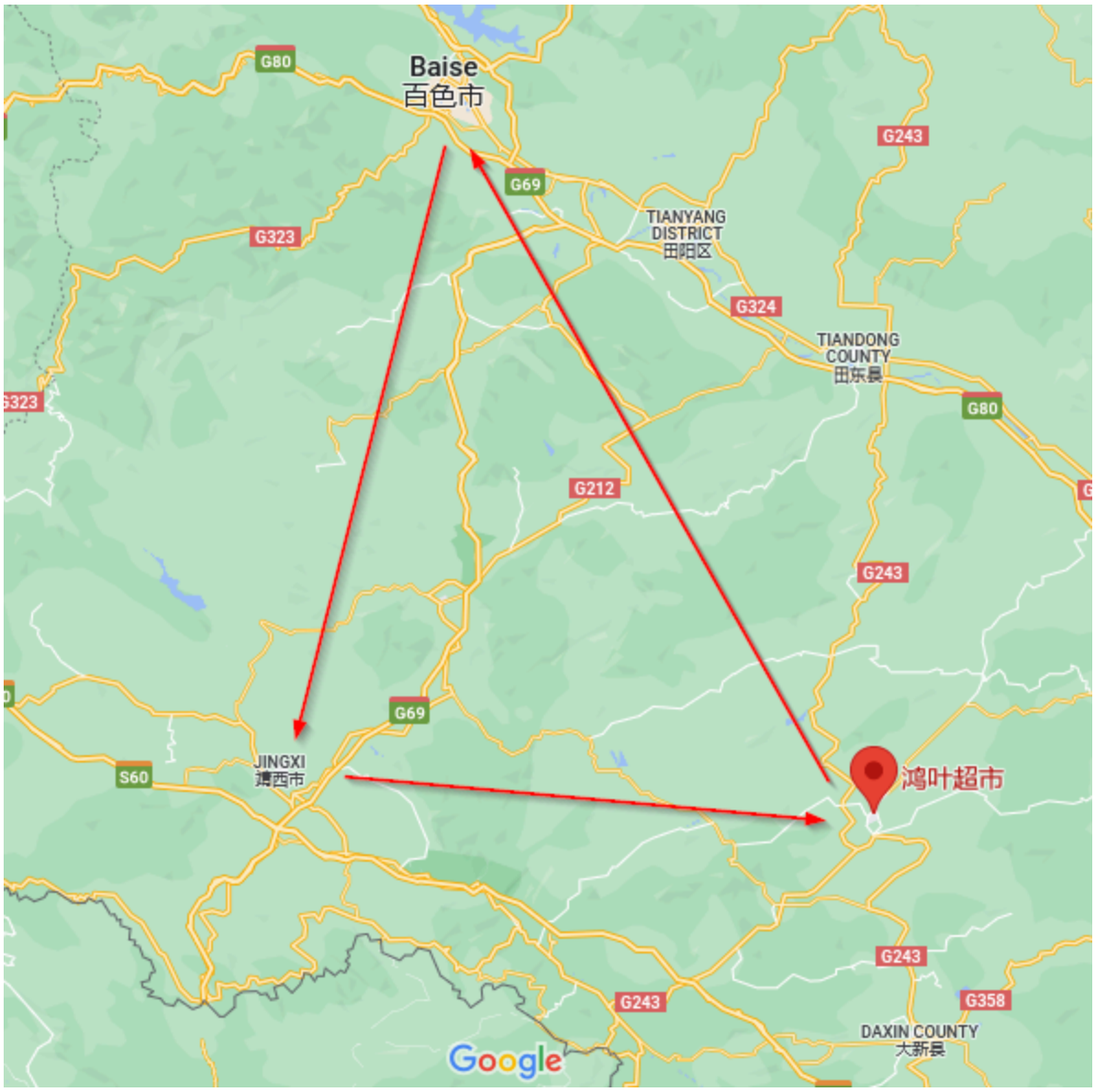
Chinese Studies -- Pinyin to Wade-Giles Conversion Table | Indiana University Libraries

Pinyin	Wade-Giles
tian	t'ien

Wade-Giles T’ien (right) = Pinyin Tian (left)

On the map, there is Tiandeng county east of Jingxi city.

Tiandeng county, Chongzuo, Guangxi, China



Tianbao Rd in Tiandeng county (the red bubble) is east of Jingxi city, near Vietnam border, and south-east of Baise, forming a triangle..

The above Baise-Jingxi-Tiandeng triangle is similar to the “Poseh (Paise)-Ch’ing-Hsi-Tienpao” triangle in Patti (1980) map, where Ch’ing-Hsi (Chinghsi or Jingxi) was too far to the west, and should be nearly south of Poseh (Paise or Baise), and where Tienpao was nearly south of Poseh.

Map of Tonkin in Patti (1980)

The map in Patti (1980) was not correct since Patti (1980) wrote (p.88): "Next morning I boarded my plane for Poseh, thirty minutes by air north of Ch'ing-Hsi," i.e., Ch'ing-Hsi (Jingxi) should be south of Poseh (Baise) as shown in the Google Map.

In the Patti (1980) map, if Ch'ing-Hsi (Jingxi) were moved to the east so that it would be south of Poseh (Baise), then Tienpao would be moved further east, i.e., south-east of Poseh (Baise), and the "Poseh (Paise)-Ch'ing-Hsi-Tienpao" triangle would look like the Baise-Jingxi-Tiandeng triangle in the Google Map above.

Zooming in on the red bubble in Tiandeng county reveals Tianbao Rd (or X506):

Tianbao Rd (or X506) passes through Tiandeng county

So the "Tienpao prison," which should be written as the "T'ienpao prison," was likely on Tianbao Rd in Tiandeng county.

Also Brocheux 2007 was inconsistent since "Paise" (Wade-Giles) and "Jingxi" (Pinyin) were used, instead of "Baise" (Pinyin) and "Jingxi" (Pinyin), where both names are in Pinyin.

A Note in the new edition of EW would help readers connect the geographical names in Patti (1980) and Brocheux 2007.

EW p.85, pdf p.118, OSS parachuted into Pac Bo

> Other OSS personnel soon parachuted into Pac Bo, including a medic who diagnosed Ho Chi Minh's ailments as malaria and dysentery. Quinine and sulfa drugs restored his health, but Ho remained frail. To a remarkable degree, he made a winning impression on these Americans, who invariably described him as warm, intelligent, and keen to cooperate with the United States.{43} As a sign of friendship, they named him "OSS Agent 19." Everywhere the Americans went, impoverished villagers thanked them with gifts of food and clothing, no doubt especially

EW p.86, pdf p.119, Photo of Ho and OSS at Pac Bo (or Bac Bo palace?)

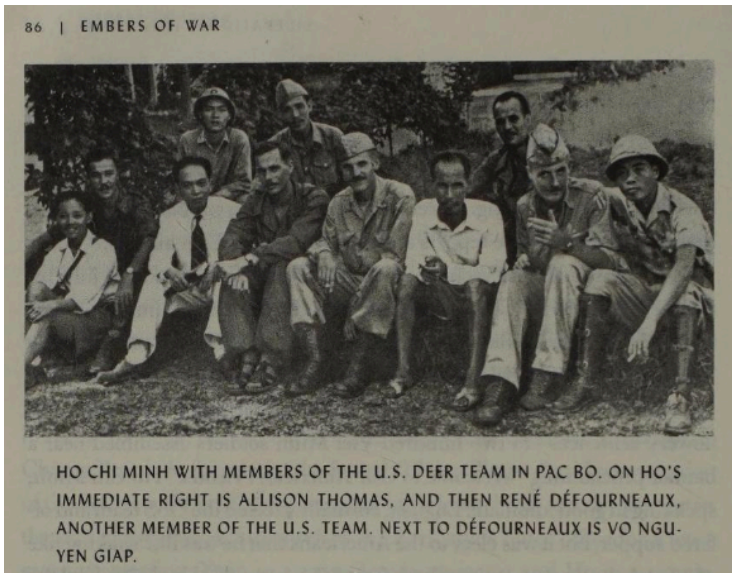

86 | EMBERS OF WAR
HO CHI MINH WITH MEMBERS OF THE U.S. DEER TEAM IN PAC BO. ON HO'S IMMEDIATE RIGHT IS ALLISON THOMAS, AND THEN RENÉ DÉFOURNEAUX, ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE U.S. TEAM. NEXT TO DÉFOURNEAUX IS VO NGUYEN GIAP.

Image caption: "HO CHI MINH WITH MEMBERS OF THE U.S. DEER TEAM IN PAC BO. ON HO'S IMMEDIATE RIGHT IS ALLISON THOMAS, AND THEN RENÉ DÉFOURNEAUX, ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE U.S. TEAM. NEXT TO DÉFOURNEAUX IS VO NGUYEN GIAP. (photo credit 3.3)"

3.3: private collection; (EW pdf p.1021)

Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao

[NOTE: I communicated this "EW Misprints 4 [B]" to Logevall on 2023.10.17. ENDNOTE]

The key to the misprint "Pac Bo" as the location into which "Other OSS personnel soon parachuted" (EW p.85, pdf p.118) is likely the caption of the image on p.86, in which Ho was shown to sit next to "Colonel Allison Thomas," who was said to have led the Deer team on 1945 "July 16" to parachute "into Ho's new forward base, a tiny village in the jungle called Tan Trao" (EW p.85, pdf p.118).

So why would Col. Thomas parachute into Tan Trao, then walk to Pac Bo, together with Ho (who was already at Tan Trao, and greeted Col. Thomas on 1945 July 16), just to take a picture together at Pac Bo, per the photo caption above ??!!

Summary of misprints in EW pp.85-86

- The caption of the photo in EW p.86 had a misprint: "Pac Bo" should be "Tan Trao." See Tuan, Hoang Anh 2015.
- Patti referred to Thomas's rank as major, not colonel (WV p.106, pdf p.130, Major Allison K. Thomas, WV p.130, pdf p.153, Major Thomas); so did Bartholomew-Feis (OS p.184, pdf p.195, Major Thomas to inspect GBT) and Marr (VN45 p.n7, pdf p.6, Major Thomas). Throughout his book, Marr referred to Thomas as "Major" (VN45 p.xix, pdf p.21, Major Thomas). The only time that Marr referred to "Colonel Allison K. Thomas (retired)" was in the Preface of his book, indicating that Thomas was promoted to colonel when he retired, but not when he was in Vietnam in 1945 (VN45 p.xxvi, pdf p.21, Colonel Thomas (retired)). Even the caption of the group photo with Ho and Thomas in VW pdf p.51 referred to "The officer to Ho's right is the team's commander, Major Allison Thomas."
- Ho walked from Pac Bo to Tan Trao with Tan and Shin, and a number of Viet Minh members. The trip was notoriously arduous and dangerous, as described by Bartholomew-Feis (OS p.163, pdf p.174, Dangerous trek from Pac Bo to Tan Trao). They did not have enough food and water. They were "forced to eat the horses that had carried Tan and Shin part of the way" Fortunately "when Shin was able to make radio contact with Fenn and the first air-drop of food arrived" (OS p.163).
- No OSS members parachuted into Pac Bo; only food and water were parachuted when Ho, Tan, Shin and the Viet Minh walked from Pac Bo to Tan Trao in 1945 Apr.
- When Thomas parachuted into Tan Trao on 1945 July 16 (WV p.127, pdf p.150, Thomas parachuted into Kim Lung on 1945 Jul 16, OS p.164, pdf p.175, Kim Lung was Tan Trao), Ho was already there since Ho headed for Tan Trao in 1945 Apr (OS p.163, pdf p.174, Dangerous trek from Pac Bo to Tan Trao). They never walked from Tan Trao back to Pac Bo just to grin for a photo op.
- The "medic who diagnosed Ho Chi Minh's ailments as malaria and dysentery" (EW p.85, pdf p.118, OSS parachuted into Pac Bo) parachuted into Tan Trao, not Pac Bo.
- Finally, a 2015 article by "Hoang Anh Tuan, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vietnam" indicated that the photo was taken at Tan Trao in 1945 (Tuan, Hoang Anh 2015).

Update on misprint in EW p.86, 2024.05.04

In his 2012 book, Logevall referred to Pac Bo as the location of the photo. The background was not easy to recognize. With a higher resolution Photo in Ward 2017, The Vietnam War, pdf p.51 (see below), the background can be seen as a paved (cement) driveway with a metal gate in the back.

But Tan Trao was a very rural area with dirt roads and thatched-roof dwellings (such as shown in the 1945 Aug 16 image https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1945_Aug_16_Deer_Team_train_Vietminh.png) rather than with cement driveways and metal gates.

On the other hand, the Bac Bo Palace was mentioned at least eighteen (18) times in Patti 1980, *Why Viet Nam?* where in WV p.243 it is read that "Ho had invited Grelecki and me for dinner on independence eve. At exactly 4:30 we entered for the first time the arched gate of the Bac Bo Palace, formerly the Résidence Supérieure."

So "Pac Bo" in the figure caption of Photo in EW p.86 could be the corrupted spelling of the "Bac Bo" Palace in 1945 Sep.

Photo in EW p.86

Credit 3.3, p1021 Private collection. See Ward 2017 The Vietnam War, credit Allison K. Thomas archive, University of Michigan

HO CHI MINH WITH MEMBERS OF THE U.S. DEER TEAM IN PAC BO. ON HO'S IMMEDIATE RIGHT IS ALLISON THOMAS, AND THEN RENÉ DÉFOURNEAUX, ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE U.S. TEAM. NEXT TO DÉFOURNEAUX IS VO NGUYEN GIAP. (photo credit 3.3)

Sharper photo in Ward and Burns 2017 pdf p.51

This article by a Viet official said it was at Tan Trao

NO, the background was not a river but a driveway with a gate.

See error on Tan Trao instead of Pac Bo p118. The background shows a river, which would be Lenin stream p59

Photo credit: Private collection

Photo in Ward 2017, The Vietnam War, pdf p.51

Ho and the OSS p49, p51

Credits p1305

Alex K. Thomas Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Alex = Allison, Bartholomew-Feis, p360, pdf p371

Ho Chi Minh (first row, third from right) at Pac Bo with members of the OSS Deer Mission, 1945. The officer to Ho's right is the team's commander, Major Allison Thomas. The man wearing the tie is Vo Nguyen Giap.

Photo credit: Alex K. Thomas papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Go to Update on misprint in EW p.86, 2024.05.04, EW p.86 misprint, WV p.243, Bac Bo Palace,

EW p.138, pdf p.180, Ho loved French culture

Page 138
tournament across the border in Spain, went fishing, and visited the Catholic sanctuary at Lourdes. Ho asked people what it was like to live under German occupation and attended a commemoration of de Gaulle's June 18, 1940, call to resistance, held at the memorial to the dead of the Biarritz resistance. After one festive meal at a restaurant in the small fishing village of Biriatou, Ho signed the guest book with the words, "Seas and oceans do not separate brothers who love each other."

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

EW p.145-146, pdf p.188-189, Ho and complex feelings about France

Page 145
Later that day Ho left Paris, for the last time. Never again would he set foot in the city he knew so well—better, perhaps, than any other. Despite the numerous frustrations of the previous weeks, he had enjoyed his stay in key respects. He had taken time to visit many of his old Paris haunts, had mingled frequently with French intellectuals and politicians, and had devoured any and all newspapers, and overall the city and its culture undoubtedly stirred something deep in his soul. An intangible but real connection to the colonial overlord remained, despite his decades-long campaign to win independence for his country, and despite his sense that all-out war was drawing ever closer. Nor was he alone in this feeling. It's a fascinating thing about many Vietnamese nationalists of the period, the degree to which they possessed complex and conflicting feelings about France. Said Ho to author Jean Lacouture earlier in the year: "A race such as yours which has given the world the literature of freedom will always find us friends. . . . If you only knew, monsieur, how passionately I reread Victor Hugo and Michelet year after year."42

Page 146
the generally welcoming reception given him, he writes that "it was not because I was the president of a nation that they behaved that way; they Just naturally showed friendship toward us."43

Page 146
As Ho Chi Minh departed this country he loved, he had no illusions: The war clouds were gathering fast.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

Page 11
Ho Chi Minh stayed in the United States several months, whereupon he decamped for London, finding work as a pastry chef under the renowned chef Auguste Escoffier at the luxurious Carlton Hotel. Always thirsty for knowledge—it was one of his distinctive personal attributes—he spent his free time reading and writing and improving his English. (He eventually spoke it almost fluently, along with French, Russian, and Chinese.)(15) The Irish struggle for independence moved him deeply, and he later wrote that he cried upon learning of the death in 1920 of the mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, who had been sentenced to two years in prison by the British and who suffered in anguish for seventy-four days during a hunger strike.(16) Here again, as in New York, Ho witnessed the disconnect between theory and practice, saw the willingness of even liberal democracies to tolerate discrimination and colonialism.

EW p.722, Ho spoke excellent English

Page 722

(Footnote 15, Prologue: A Vietnamese in Paris) A British official who had met him said Ho spoke excellent idiomatic English. Saigon to Foreign Office (hereafter FO), April 10, 1946, FO 959/7, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London (hereafter TNA).

Marr 1995

Vietnam 1945

Marr, D.G. (1995), *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

VN45 p.n7, pdf p.6, Major Thomas

Ho often signed himself ‘’Hoo’” when communicating with Americans, in this case Major Allison Thomas, head of the OSS Deer Team.

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

VN45 p.xix, pdf p.21, Major Thomas

THOMAS, MAJOR ALLISON K. Head of American OSS team parachuted to Ho Chi Minh’s mountain headquarters in July 1945.

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

VN45 p.xxvi, pdf p.21, Colonel Thomas (retired)

I would also like to thank Colonel Allison K. Thomas (retired) for sending me materials relating to his experiences in Vietnam in July-September 1945, and for responding readily to my subsequent queries.

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

McHale 2021

The First Vietnam War

McHale 2021, *The First Vietnam War: Violence, Sovereignty, and the Fracture of the South, 1945-1956*, Cambridge University Press. UK.

FV, p.46, pdf p.59, Bach, Giau, Francophile anticolonialists

Indeed, the southern Viet Minh was culturally different from its analogues elsewhere in the country. The journalist Germaine Krull, speaking to Viet Minh leader Dr. Pham Van Bach in Saigon, noted his impeccable French: indeed, he had spent years in Lyon, France, studying law. Bach said to Krull that “we like the French and our culture is French. I, myself, not only speak the language but think in it. But we will not be a colony anymore.”{29} When the French journalist André Blanchet asked the communist Trần Văn Giàu why all the Viet Minh leaders appeared to be intellectuals, doctors, and teachers, Tran Văn Giàu is quoted as saying: “I myself blame our movement for being bourgeois. But to rebuild a country, one needs intellectuals, they are the ones that must guide the masses. I myself am a bourgeois who has become a communist.”{30}

{29} Krull, “Dairy [sic], Following the Allied Occupation in September 1945,” [2], entry for September 17, 1945, p. [12], Folder 07, Box 02, Douglas Pike Collection, The Vietnam Center and Archive, Texas Tech University, www.vietnam.ttu.edu/reports/images.php?img=/images/241/2410207001.pdf) (accessed December 27, 2018).

{30} André Blanchet, *Au pays des ballila jaunes: relation d’un correspondant de guerre en Indochine* [In the country of Asian fascist youth: account of a war correspondent in Indochina] (St. Étienne: Dorian,

1947), 198. The interview took place in February 1946.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists,

Mus 1952

Sociologie d'une guerre

Mus, Paul 1952, *Viêt-Nam*: *Sociologie d'une Guerre*, Seuil, Paris.

SG, p.229, Tombstones for Leclerc

Général Leclerc, débarquant à Saigon en 1945, s'est entendu dire par un Vietnamien : "Les Français, mon Général, vous ont élevé des statues pour les batailles que vous avez gagnées. Le Viet-Nam vous dédiera des stèles pour celles que vous n'aurez pas livrées," et ce grand soldat m'a paru alors comprendre ce langage, mieux que ne l'eussent fait certains de nos stratèges en chambre.

General Leclerc, landing in Saigon in 1945, heard a Vietnamese say to him: "The French, my General, have erected statues to honor you for the battles you won. Vietnam will dedicate tombstones to you for those battles you did not fight," and this great soldier seemed to me to understand this language better than some of our armchair strategists would have done.

Patti 1980

Wikipedia

Archimedes Patti - Wikipedia

Why Viet Nam?

Patti, Archimedes, *Why Viet Nam? Prelude to America's Albatross*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1980.

WV p.86, Ho's sincerity and eloquence

Page 86
Despite my studied objectivity and purposeful awareness of not allowing myself to become involved in the political aspects of the Indochina question, Ho's sincerity, pragmatism, and eloquence made an indelible impression on me. He did not strike me as a starry-eyed revolutionary or a flaming radical, given to cliches, mouthing a party line, or bent on destroying without plans for rebuilding. This wisp of a man was intelligent, well-versed in the problems of his country, rational, and dedicated. I also felt he could be trusted as an ally against the Japanese. I saw that his ultimate goal was to attain American support for the cause of a free Viet Nam and felt that desire presented no conflict with American policy. From a practical viewpoint, Ho and the Viet Minh appeared to be the answer to my immediate problem of establishing operations in Indochina.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists. See also Tongas (1960) EC p.84, Ho spoke excellent French.

WV p.106, pdf p.130, Major Allison K. Thomas

Wampler selected Captain (later Major) Charles M. Holland and Major Allison K. Thomas to head two teams code-named, respectively, ''Cat'' and ''Deer.'

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

WV p.127, pdf p.150, Thomas parachuted into Kim Lung on 1945 Jul 16

In the late afternoon of 16 July the group parachuted into the vicinity of the village of Kim Lung [which is the old name of Tan Trao per Bartholomew-Feis, see OH p.164], about twenty miles east of Tuyen-Quang. The drop was uneventful except that Thomas, Montfort, and one enlisted man landed unceremoniously in trees and had to be helped down. Then, according to Thomas, he received a welcoming salute from about two hundred men[6] armed with "French rifles, a few Brens, a few tommies, a few carbines, and a few stens." Thomas described it as "a very impressive reception committee."

Thomas's first report gave some of the flavor of his arrival:

I was then escorted to Mr. Hoe [Ho Chi Minh], one of the big leaders of the VML (Viet Minh League) Party. He speaks excellent English but is very weak physically as he recently walked from Tsingsi [Ch'ing-Hsi]. He received us most cordially. We then were shown our quarters. They had built for us a special bamboo shelter, consisting of a bamboo floor a few feet off the ground and a roof of palm leaves. We then had supper consisting of beer (recently captured), rice, bamboo sprouts and barbecued steak. They freshly slaughtered a cow in our honor.'

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

WV p.130, pdf p.153, Major Thomas

"On the day that Ho Chi Minh and Major Thomas met in the jungles of Tonkin, I was in Kunming…"
Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

WV p.454, Giap welcomed Patti on 1945 Aug 26, Sunday

August 26: Giap welcomes the American mission in Hanoi. First meeting in Hanoi between the author and Ho Chi Minh.

Go to OS p.194.

WV p.133, Famine, right to live, equality

Page 133
The right to live—survival—was the first cause of the revolution.

Finally, Ho had laid down a ten-point program for the Liberated Area:

Drive out the Japanese
…
Abolish taxes and corvées.
Ensure equality among the various ethnic groups and between men and women.

WV p.243, Bac Bo Palace

Ho had invited Grelecki and me for dinner on independence eve. At exactly 4:30 we entered for the first time the arched gate of the Bac Bo Palace, formerly the Résidence Supérieure. The sentries at the gate saluted smartly, and a young officer escorted us to a room on the second floor. It was large and elegant but only sparsely furnished with a divan, several easy chairs, and a coffee table. Quite a contrast to Sainteny's luxurious salons in the Governor General's Palace.

Go to Update on misprint in EW p.86, 2024.05.04, EW p.86 misprint, WV p.243, Bac Bo Palace,

WV p.572, comment on Devillers 1952

Error in Patti short bio, Arlington National Cemetery

Updated 2023.08.31 - Started 2023.07.22

Archimedes L. A. Patti - Lieutenant Colonel, United States Army, Internet archived 2023.02.07

> In retirement, he wrote a book and several articles on Vietnam. In 1982, he wrote "Why Vietnam: Prelude to America's Albatross," which describes his relationship with Communist guerrilla leader Ho Chi Minh during the mid-1940s.
>
> After retirement from the Army, he worked in crisis management with the Office of Emergency Planning in Washington, DC. In 1982 he wrote "Why Vietnam?: Prelude to America's Albatross", a full account of his relationship with Ho Chi Minh and the events surrounding Ho's proclamation of Vietnamese independence on September 2, 1945. His research and archival materials have been deposited with the University of Central Florida in Orlando.

Internet archived 2004.01.17

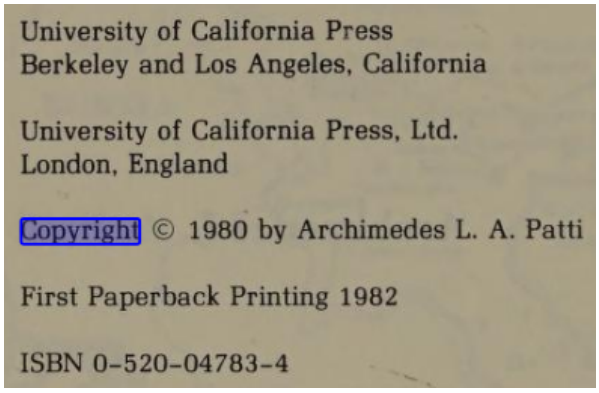
> In 1982 he wrote "Why Vietnam?: Prelude to America's Albatross", a full account of his relationship with Ho Chi Minh and the events surrounding Ho's proclamation of Vietnamese independence on September 2, 1945.

On 2023.07.22, I added the comment below to the above website, where there was a misprint on the publication year of Patti's book, but neither my comment appeared, nor the error corrected. On 2023.09.02, I registered the second notice of the error.

> Second notice, 2023.09.02. First notice, 2023.07.22.
>
> Even though Patti's book was published in 1980, incorrectly stated above as 1982, he had completed a shorter version back in 1946, and was ready to publish in 1954, "after the French collapse at Dien Bien Phu", but it was too late because of McCarthyism at the time and of the sensitivity to adverse criticism "of American foreign policy by members of the military establishment, the Department of the Army decreed that any public disclosure of information or opinion by me [Patti] on the question of American involvement in Viet Nam would be regarded with official displeasure and I would be subject to disciplinary action. Under protest I [Patti] acceded to the Department's injunction."
>
> The copyright year was 1980, whereas the "First Paperback Printing" was 1982.
>
> For more details on the copyright statement in both the hardcover book and the softcover (paperback) book as evidence, see *Notes on Vietnam History*, Internet Archive, at https://archive.org/details/notes-on-vietnam-history
>
> Loc Vu-Quoc
> vuquocloc@yahoo.com
> Publications (http://bit.ly/17Wuww9), Google scholar (http://bit.ly/1ftDOKF)

Patti, Archimedes, *Why Viet Nam? Prelude to America's Albatross*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1980.

WV p.n5, Copyright 1980 by Patti

University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University of California Press, Ltd. London, England Copyright © 1980 by Archimedes L. A. Patti	 University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University of California Press, Ltd. London, England Copyright © 1980 by Archimedes L. A. Patti First Paperback Printing 1982 ISBN 0-520-04783-4

On the left is the copyright statement in the hardcover book. On the right is the copyright statement in the soft-cover (paperback) book. Clearly, the copyright year was 1980, ***not*** 1982, which was only the year of the "First Paperback Printing."

Why did obituary writers make the error on the copyright year as 1982? It appeared that the error on the copyright year first appeared in the Orlando Sentinel, 1998.04.25, then got picked up by the Washington Post, 1998.04.29, a few days later. It is most likely that the same error got picked up again for the short bio on Patti in websites such as Archimedes L. A. Patti - Lieutenant Colonel, United States Army, Internet archived 2023.02.07 mentioned above.

In other words, obituary writers copied from each other, thus propagated the same error, and never checked the copyright statement in Patti's book, either hardcover or softcover.

Obituaries for Patti
Orlando Sentinel, 1998.04.25

Orlando Sentinel

ARCHIMEDES PATTI'S JOB WAS PREPARING FOR WORST
PUBLISHED: April 25, 1998 at 4:00 a.m. | UPDATED: July 30, 2021 at 3:51 a.m.

Military veteran Archimedes L.A. Patti of Winter Park wrote a well-known book on the Vietnam War, Why Vietnam? Prelude to America's Albatross.

First published in 1982, the book, which is still in print, is based on the retired lieutenant colonel's observations of Ho Chi Minh, premier of North Vietnam.

The Washington Post, 1998.04.29
OBITUARIES
The Washington Post, 1998 Apr 29

In retirement, he wrote a book and several articles on Vietnam. In 1982, he wrote "Why Vietnam: Prelude to America's Albatross," which describes his relationship with Communist guerrilla leader Ho Chi Minh during the mid-1940s.

Obituaries for Margaret Patti
Orlando Sentinel, 2018.01.14
Deaths in Central Florida: 1/14
By Orlando Sentinel |
PUBLISHED: January 14, 2018 at 8:00 a.m. | UPDATED: December 15, 2018 at 6:24 a.m.

Patti Margaret Katherine Telford 'Peggy' Patti Passed away peacefully in Ft. Walton Beach, FL on November 30, 2017 at the age of 99 years, 6 months and 14 days. She was preceded in death by most of her family and peers. Left to miss her are her daughters, Alexandra (Mark Eldridge) and Giuliana (Jim Scott); grandsons Greg(Jillian) and Jacob; great grandchildren Mark Galen Eldridge and Gwendolyn Sarah Eldridge; numerous nieces, nephews and their children. A Celebration of Life will be held in Washington, DC in the spring of 2018 at which time her ashes will be interred in the Telford family plot in Rock Creek Cemetery. Please visit www.daviswatkins.com for more details.

Margaret Katherine Patti, May 16, 1918 ~ November 30, 2017 (age 99)

MARGARET KATHERINE TELFORD PATTI aged 99 years 6 months 14 days left this realm peacefully on November 30, 2017 in Fort Walton Beach, Florida.

Born in Chicago, Illinois on May 16, 1918, the youngest child of Fred and Mae McGuire Telford, Peggy was raised in the nation's capital with two older sisters and one older brother, all of whom preceded her in death. Her mother was a successful restaurateur and her father was a statistician.

Pearl Harbor was attacked and the US entered World War II while Peggy was attending the University of California, Los Angeles, so she returned to her family in DC and joined the Red Cross as a nurses' aide. While travelling from England to North Africa, her service in the Red Cross with the 16th Evacuation Hospital took her in harm's way, their hospital ship being hit off of the coast of Algiers. In Algiers, she visited wounded soldiers and later was assigned to the office of the Chief Editor of the theatre's Stars & Stripes Newspaper, which covered the military news in the Mediterranean and North African operations. Working as a secretary within the news organization fueled her interest in current events and she always fondly remembered her times at that office.

In 1943, in Italy, Peggy was among a determined group to restore a MASH unit hit by a tornado in the Salerno area, Italy where more than a 1000 wounded American soldiers were hospitalized. While in the Mediterranean and North African MASH units, she met her husband, Archimedes L. A. Patti ("Pat"), a dashing Army Officer. They married in September, 1944.

After the war Peggy and her husband made Washington, DC their base camp as they both continued to work for the Army and the State Dept. Peggy met numerous interesting and famous people, including Julia Child during this time. In 1952 Peggy became a full time mother and homemaker with the birth of her first daughter, Alexandra ("Sandy"), followed eight years later by a second daughter, Giuliana ("Julie").

For the next 20 years Peggy efficiently and happily relocated her family all over the Eastern US as her husband's career dictated. Upon his retirement, they settled in Central Florida. There Peggy worked closely with her husband as he drafted his memoirs about his OSS work in Viet Nam prior to the US officially entering that conflict. Mastering one of the first RadioShack Tandy TRS-80 computers at the age of 65, she provided all the manuscript support of digitizing Pat's drafts from longhand. Editing and cajoling her husband to rework the manuscript, their efforts paid off in 1982 with a published book through the University of California Press.

She also found time during her "senior" years to pursue her interests in history, starting her first serious forays

into the family genealogy. She gathered and researched her family names Telford and McGuire and enjoyed the thrill of discovery as she fleshed out new branches of her ancestors.

After Pat passed away in 1998, Peggy chose to stay in Central Florida, living near her older daughter and grandchildren. In 2006, she joined her younger daughter in Ft. Walton Beach. Upon relocating to Ft. Walton Beach, she continued to have a deep interest in world affairs and US government. She loved reading, word puzzles and games of all kinds, good food and especially chocolate, and of course time spent with her children and grandchildren.

Having lived a very long life, Peggy has been preceded in death by all of her family. Left to miss her are her daughters, Alexandra (husband Mark Eldridge) and Giuliana(husband Jim Scott); grandsons, Gregory Eldridge (wife Jillian) and Jacob Eldridge; great grandchildren, Mark Galen Eldridge and Gwendolyn Sarah Eldridge; numerous nieces, nephews and their children.

A celebration of her life will be held in Washington, DC, where her ashes will be interred at Rock Creek Cemetery in the spring of 2018.

Washington Post, 2018.01.17

MARGARET PATTI Obituary : This obituary is a slightly shortened version of the above obituary, except for the addition of the title of Patti's 1980 book. The same mistake was made regarding the publication year (copyright year), which should be 1980, not 1982.

PATTI MARGARET KATHERINE TELFORD PATTI (Age 99)
… cut …
… their efforts were rewarded in 1982 with the publication of *Why Viet Nam?: Prelude to America's Albatross* through the University of California Press.
… cut ...
Published by The Washington Post on Jan. 17, 2018.

Smith 2005

OSS Secret history

Smith, Richard Harris (2005). *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency*. Lyons Press; First Edition.

OS p.194, Col. Patti in image caption

Page n233 (=p.194)
Ho Chi Minh proclaimed September 2, 1945 as Viet Nam Independence Day. Communist guerrillas marched in review in Hanoi and the band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner" while OSS Col. Archimedes Patti (left foreground) and Viet Minh military genius Vo Nguyen Giap (right foreground) saluted. Standing behind Patti was Robert Knapp, the Harvard psychologist who openly sympathized with the Viet Minh cause.

[NOTE: The above date of 1945 Sep 2 was ***not*** the date of the "quasi-parade", which Vo Nguyen Giap organized on 1945 Aug 26, Sunday, to honor Major Patti; Go to WV p.454.

The reference to Patti as "Col." in the image caption OS p.194 is a misprint; see OS p.316. Subsequently, Smith (2005) referred to Patti as Major when Patti was in Hanoi; see OS p.319, OS p.322, OS p.323, and the detailed analysis Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

The above quotation was the caption in Smith (2005), p.194, for the same image at File:1945 Aug Archimedes Patti, Vo Nguyen Giap.png - Wikimedia Commons, in which Robert Knapp stood on the left of Patti; see also OS p.194, Col. Patti, OS p.327, OSS Robert, OS p.328, Knapp.
ENDNOTE]

OS p.304, Captain Patti in Kunming, before Hanoi

Whitaker proposed to transfer some of these soldiers directly into OSS for clandestine training under the direction of Captain Archimedes L. A. Patti, chief of the Indochina desk of the SI Branch in Kunming (and later commander of the OSS mission to Hanoi). A former aide to Whitaker at the Psychological Warfare Branch in Italy, Patti was the son of an Italian-American New York attorney, a political associate of General Donovan's. The captain had met General Sabattier at the Chinese border and accompanied him to Kunming. From there, Sabattier was flown to Chungking for a meeting with Wedemeyer. In early June, an agreement was finally reached to transfer 100 Vietnamese soldiers and 25 French officers to OSS operational control for Tonkinese missions.

NOTE: When Patti was in Kunming, before going to Hanoi on 1945 Aug 22, he was a Captain, but may be promoted to Major by the time he landed in Hanoi. See the detailed analysis Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

OS p.316, Colonel Patti in Hanoi

The murder of Colonel Dewey, the first American to die in Vietnam, immediately assumed diplomatic importance. Radio Hanoi reported that the killing was the work of French criminals; in Saigon, the Vietnamese nationalists offered a reward for the return of the body.(38) And Ho Chi Minh sent a personal note of condolence to Colonel Archimedes Patti, then chief of the OSS mission in Hanoi. The French simultaneously blamed the murder on the Viet Minh.

NOTE: The above reference to Patti in Hanoi as "Colonel" is a misprint, since the same author clearly referred to Patti as Major in subsequent pages; see below. When Patti was in Kunming, before going to Hanoi on 1945 Aug 22, he was a Captain, but may be promoted to Major by the time he landed in Hanoi. See the detailed analysis Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

OS p.319, Major Patti in Hanoi

The OSS command at Kunming had already laid plans to send its own mission to Hanoi, but General Wedemeyer had at first been reluctant to grant his approval, fearing that an American team would become "involved in politics." OSS headquarters then took a different tack. At this time, Colonel Heppner and his aides were dispatching "mercy missions" to rescue Allied prisoners of war in Manchuria, Korea, and China. Wedemeyer was finally convinced that a similar group should be sent to Hanoi. Code-named the Quail Mission, it was to be headed by OSS Major Archimedes L. A. Patti, the Italian-American who headed the North Indochina desk of SI Branch at Kunming.45

OS p.321, Roberts as Robert Knapp

One member of Patti's group took a particular interest in Ho's arrival. A 30-year-old civilian we shall call "Roberts" had joined the team some days after their arrival.(m) Like many OSS officers, Roberts was a product of Harvard, where he had received a graduate degree in psychology.

Footnote (m), p.321

m Roberts, also known as Robert Knapp, was later a professor of psychology at a New England university.

Go to OS p.194.

OS p.322, Major Patti accompanied by Vo Nguyen Giap

While the Americans were occupied in meetings with Viet Minh leaders, the French, still prevented from leaving their "golden cage" by Japanese troops, contented themselves with dispatching radio messages to Kunming deploring their misfortune. Sainteny was now more than ever convinced that the Americans were scheming against him. One afternoon, Major Patti visited the government palace, accompanied by the Viet Minh guerrilla leader, Vo Nguyen Giap, since elevated to the post of Interior Minister of Ho's government. Patti introduced Giap to Sainteny and the Frenchman was impressed by the "extraordinarily hard, sly, and intelligent" Vietnamese, "one of the most brilliant products of our culture." Giap declared that he and his comrades would be happy to receive "counsel and direction" from the French, and the

OS p.323, Patti, the cheerful OSS major

When Giap left the palace, Sainteny asked Patti to stay for lunch. They took a stroll in the park under the beautiful tropical trees that graced the palace grounds. The OSS major seemed cheerful and congratulated Sainteny on his masterful diplomacy in dealing with the Vietnamese. But the French- man was "not duped by these compliments."(53)

To characterize the OSS group as manifestly anti-French, however, would be too simple. The team included several men who took issue with Patti's anti-colonial thrust. Robert Ettinger, the French-American who had joined Sabattier's forces at Dien Bien Phu, was one Patti subordinate who was violently critical of his team commander. The major tried, unsuccessfully, to have Ettinger returned to China.

OS p.325, parade-date error

Page 325
A peaceful crowd of several hundred thousand including, by French admission, a notable representation of Catholic priests, assembled in the heart of Hanoi that day to hear their political leaders proclaim the nation's independence. Ho's speech impressed the French by its moderation. … Later that afternoon, Giap stood

beside Patti in reviewing the Viet Minh troop units. As the band struck up the “Star-Spangled Banner,” Giap raised his arm in the clenched-fist Communist salute.

NOTE: The phrase “Later that afternoon” in the last sentence above was a misprint, since the parade that Giap organized to honor Patti was on 1945 Aug 26, Sunday, which was one week before the 1945 Sep 2, Sunday, when Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam independence.

OS p.327, OSS Robert Knapp supported Ho

Roberts had long since concluded that Ho was a great and charismatic leader, a nationalist who was “above Communism.” The Viet Minh also appeared to have the confidence of the entire populace and the active support of many non-Communist nationalists. Roberts developed a personal friendship with two young Vietnamese of aristocratic descent. They were hardly sympathetic to the tenets of Marxist doctrine, but, they declared, they would give their support to Ho without hesitation in a battle against the French.

Go to OS p.194.

OS p.328, OSS Knapp recommended US support for Ho

Roberts sadly wrote a final report, strongly recommending American support for Ho and his nationalist movement. But it was too late. By October 25, the State Department had already informed OSS in no uncertain terms that the United States would “respect French sovereignty” in Indochina.

Go to OS p.194.

Spector 1985

Wikipedia

Ronald H. Spector - Wikipedia

Advice and Support

Advice and Support: The Early Years, 1941-1960 - The U.S. Army in Vietnam, Volume 1, Center for Military History, US Army, Washington, D.C.

AS p.41, footnotes, Capt. Patti

> 14 - Lt Lucien Conein to Capt. A. L. Patti, 26 Jul 45, Records of Mission "Comore," 21 Aug 45, records of the OSS.
> 15 - Lt James W. Jordan, USNR, to Capt. A. L. Patti, 10 Jul 45, Records of Mission "Pakhoi," records of the OSS.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

AS p.56, Maj. Patti

> It was in the midst of those rapid and far-reaching political events that the first Americans entered Hanoi on 22 August 1945, almost a month in advance of the Chinese troops. The first U.S. unit to arrive was a joint OSS - Air Ground Aid Service team of about a dozen men under an OSS officer who had organized and directed some of the wartime OSS missions into Vietnam, Maj. Archimedes L. A. Patti.

AS p.57, photo of Patti and Giap

> **Major Patti**, *left, with OSS team members and Viet Minh leaders. Giap is third from right*.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

Spector 2008

Ruins of Empire

Spector, Ronald H. (2008), *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia*, Random House, New York.

RE pdf p.80, Captain Patti, Chap.5 "Long Live Vietnam's Independence"

> The OSS chief of intelligence for Indochina, Captain Archimedes L. Patti, had met with Ho Chi Minh near the China border and received assurances that the Vietminh were ready to cooperate with the Americans in fighting the Japanese.

RE pdf p.82, Captain Patti, Chap.5 "Long Live Vietnam's Independence"

> The chief of the OSS mission was Captain Archimedes L. Patti, a veteran of service in France and Italy who had run the OSS operations into Indochina in the last months of the war.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

Spector 2022

Continent Erupts

Spector, Ronald H. (2022), *A Continent Erupts: Decolonization, Civil War, and Massacre in Postwar Asia, 1945-1955*. W. W. Norton & Company, New York.

CE Chap.1, "We buried imperialism here today"

> In July 1945 the OSS chief of intelligence for Indochina, Major Archimedes L. Patti, met with Ho Chi Minh and agreed to send an OSS training team to arm and train the Viet Minh for guerrilla operations against the Japanese.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

Tongas 1960

L'Enfer Communiste (Communist dystopia/hell)

Tongas, Gérard (1960), *J'ai vécu dans l'Enfer Communiste au Nord Viet-Nam*, 2ème édition, Nouvelles Éditions Debresse, Paris.

Reviewed by P.J. Honey 1962

L'Enfer Communiste au Nord Viet-Nâm. By Gérard Tongas. (Paris: Les Nouvelles Editions Debresse. 1961. 463 pp. 18 New Francs.] | The China Quarterly | Cambridge Core
The China Quarterly: Volume 9 - | Cambridge Core March 1962

The title, which will doubtless deter many potential readers, is unfortunate since it suggests that the book is nothing more than an anti-Communist tract, but this is far from being the case. The author is an historian with the highest professional qualifications and a long list of historical works to his credit, and he recorded full notes of all he saw or heard during the years of his residence in North Vietnam in preparation for the book which he would write after his departure.

EC p.83, Tongas met Ho Chi Minh on 1954 Nov 5

Ma première audience avec le Président de la République Démocratique du Viêt-Nam eut lieu le 5 novembre 1954. Elle avait été préparée et obtenue très rapidement en quelques jours. Il nous (1) reçut lui-même à l'entrée de la pièce, où nous devions avoir, avec lui seul comme interlocuteur, une bonne heure de conversation à bâtons rompus fort agréable.
My first audience with the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam took place on 1954 Nov 5. It had been prepared and obtained very quickly in a few days. He received us (1) [the author and his wife] himself at the entrance to the room, where we were to have, with him alone as interlocutor, a good hour of very pleasant casual conversation.

Footnote (1)

(1) Quand je dis "nous" cela signifie que ma.femme est étroitement associée au récit que je fais, car, dès les premiers contacts avec les Viêt-Minh, je pris l'habitude de faire toutes mes visites et démarches en sa compagnie, afin de pouvoir, après chaque entrevue, en discuter avec elle et en tirer le maximum de clarté.
(1) When I said "we" I meant that my wife was closely associated with the events I wrote, because, from the first contacts with the Viêt-Minh, I got into the habit of making all of my visits and dealings in her company, so to discuss with her and to draw the maximum clarity after each interview.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

EC p.83, After eight years of warfare, Ho was glad to talk to the French again

NOTE: This meeting between Tongas and Ho Chi Minh in Dec 1954 took place after the battle of Dien Bien Phu, which ended in May 1954, and after the Geneva convention in July 1954. These eight years of war were from 1946—when Ho left Vietnam to France in September for negotiation at Versailles and then left France to return to Vietnam by boat in December—until 1954.

Il m' apparut, dès l'abord, bien différent du Chef d'Etat, malade, les traits tirés, soucieux, à l'air dur et inquiet, que j'avais entrevu, furtivement mais de très près, il y avait huit ans environ, alors qu'il visitait en automobile découverte le parc de Versailles. Les années £étaient passées, longues et difficiles depuis cette époque de négociations infructueuses; la guerre, la vie de brousse, avec leurs problèmes terribles et angoissants, les

avaient bien remplies. Je retrouvai cet homme remarquable absolument transformé ; il avait rajeuni de dix ans par rapport à cette vision de Versailles qui était restée gravée dans ma mémoire. Je n en croyais pas mes yeux, alors qu'il était debout devant nous, jovial, souriant, respirant la bonhomie, resplendissant de santé et de vitalité nous serrant les mains avec une effusion sincère, tellement heureux, disait-il, avec une certaine émotion dans la voix, de pouvoir causer un moment avec des Français.

He seemed to me, from the start, very different from the Head of State, ill, with drawn features, anxious, with a hard and worried air, whom I had glimpsed, furtively but very closely, eight years ago, when he visited the park of Versailles in an open car. The years had passed, long and difficult, since that time of fruitless negotiations; the war, life in the bush, with terrible and agonizing problems, had completely filled that period. I found this remarkable man absolutely transformed; he was ten years younger than the sight of him at Versailles that had remained etched in my memory. I couldn't believe my eyes as he stood in front of us, jovial, smiling, exuding good-naturedness, resplendent with health and vitality shaking our hands with sincere outpouring, so happy, he said, with a certain emotion in his voice, to be able to chat for a moment with French people.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

EC p.84, Ho spoke excellent French

Ho Chi Minh said to Tongas and his wife:

« Nous sommes nombreux au Viet-Nam à connaître et à apprécier les Français », nous déclara-t-il notamment, en pesant bien chaque mot, « et ce qui est mieux encore, la France, dont nous avons toujours gardé au fond de notre coeur un souvenir ému, même aux pires moments de la guerre qui nous a si malheureusement séparés, et temporairement, espérons-nous, de tant de nos amis qui nous restaient chers. L'incompréhension inflexible de certains a créé un terrible différend, puis le combat meurtrier et dévastateur. Il nous appartient, à présent que le canon s'est tu, à vous autres et à nous, de travailler ensemble à faire oublier ces durs moments, afin que 1'aube de la réconciliation se lève, lumineuse, dans un ciel devenu bien pur. Nous avons besoin, pour fortifier notre indépendance et d'édifier la démocratie, de l'aide étrangère. Nous ferons appel à tous les peuples épris de paix désireux de nous aider dans cette œuvre de longue haleine. Parmi ces amis, nous comptons celui de [la] France, et nous voudrions que nos espoirs ne soient pas déçus. Le chemin à parcourir sera long, très long peut-être, car nos adversaires n'ont pas désarmé, nous le savons, et ils feront tout pour y semer leurs perfides obstacles. Mais cette aurore éblouissante naîtra, malgré tout, parce que nous ferons 1'impossible pour les franchir. Nos épreuves nous ont appris la patience, une patience que rien ne peut décourager. Nous saurons nous contenter de peu au début, car de bons rapports, aussi minimes soient-ils pour commencer, seront le terrain favorable dans lequel le bon grain, tôt ou tard, germera, prometteur des moissons abondantes de 1'avenir. L'avenir est à nous, si nous le voulons tous vraiment ! En quatre-vingts ans, nous avons eu amplement le temps de connaître vos qualités et vos défauts ; nous saurons profiter des unes et éviter les autres. »

"There are many of us in Viet-Nam who know and appreciate the French," he declared to us, weighing every word carefully, "and what is even better, France, which we have always cherished in the depths of our hearts a fond memory, even at the worst moments of the war that so unfortunately separated us, and temporarily, we hope, from so many of our friends who remained dear to us. The inflexible incomprehension of some created a terrible disagreement, then the deadly and devastating battles. It is up to us, now that the cannon has fallen silent, to you and to us, to work together to make those hard times forgotten, so that the dawn of reconciliation may rise, luminous, in a sky that has become quite pure. To strengthen our independence and to build a democracy, we need foreign aid. We will appeal to all peace-loving peoples willing to help us in this long-term task. Among these friends, we count France, and we would like that our hopes would not be disappointing. The road ahead will be long, very long perhaps, because our adversaries have not given up, as we know, and they will do everything to sow their perfidious obstacles. But this dazzling dawn will be born,

despite everything, because we will do the impossible to cross them. Our trials have taught us patience, a patience that nothing can discourage. We will know how to be satisfied with little at the beginning, because good relations, however small they may be to begin with, will be the favorable ground in which the good seed, sooner or later, will germinate, promising abundant harvests of the future. The future is ours, if we all really want it! In eighty years, we have had ample time to know your qualities and your faults; we will know how to benefit from the former and avoid the latter. »

NOTE:

- "the cannon has fallen silent" : As mentioned, the meeting occurred after the Geneva convention in July 1954; no more fighting.
- "The road ahead will be long, very long perhaps, because our adversaries have not given up" : It took more than 20 years, from1954 Dec 5 until 1975 Apr 30.
- "eighty years" of the French colonial era in Vietnam, from 1874 to 1954. "With the Treaty of 1874, France evacuated the Red River plain but established a loose "protectorate" over the Hue monarchy with joint Franco-Vietnamese customs stations at Hanoi, Hai Phong, and Qui Nhon."

The Treaty of 1874

Taylor, Keith W. (2013), *History of the Vietnamese*, Cambridge University Press, New York, Chap.10, The French Conquest, p.446.

The Treaty of Saigon, 1862

French rule in Vietnam was established over a period of fifty years through a process that had several phases. Between 1857 and 1862, the French decision to launch an expedition against Vietnam was made and implemented, resulting in the Treaty of Saigon, which granted France possession of the region surrounding Saigon. Between 1862 and 1874, Vietnamese efforts to negotiate a French departure failed as the naval officers who governed at Saigon annexed the rest of the Mekong plain to create the colony of Cochinchina. They also established a protectorate over Cambodia and sent an expedition up the Mekong, which determined that this was not a feasible route to China.

Consequently, French interest shifted to northern Vietnam and the Red River route to Yunnan, leading to a rapid conquest of the Red River plain in 1873. This, however, was quickly disavowed by the new Third Republic government of France, still reeling over the disaster of the Franco-Prussian War and the civil war between the Paris Communards and the National Guard. With the Treaty of 1874, France evacuated the Red River plain but established a loose "protectorate" over the Hue monarchy with joint Franco-Vietnamese customs stations at Hanoi, Hai Phong, and Qui Nhon.

Go to Francophile anticolonialists.

EC p.84, Ho's simplicity and good manners

Nous étions heureux d'entendre ces paroles de la bouche de celui que nous considérions alors comme le maître vénéré et incontestable des destinées du Viet-Nam. Nous ne l'avions jamais interrompu au cours de cette prise de position, que nous sentions sincère et profondément calculée ; il en disait beaucoup plus que nous n'avions osé espérer. Il s'excusa avec une délicatesse exquise d'être aussi bavard, très fier, nous confia-t-il, de n'avoir pas trop oublié notre langue. Un serviteur entra à pas feutrés et apporta le thé, des gâteaux de riz gluant, des graines de lotus et quelques autres friandises. Tout fut disposé en un clin d'œil et le serviteur disparut aussi silencieusement qu'il était entré. Ce calme, qu'accompagnait la paix du soir, cadrait à merveille avec la sérénité de l'exposé si plein d'espoir que nous venions d'écouter dans un recueillement absolu. Le President disputa à ma femme l'honneur de verser le thé, des cigarettes furent allumées, et la

conversation s'engagea sur des sujels divers. Il s'enquit de notre vie quotidienne, nous dernanda si nous en étions satisfaits, évoqua de vieux souvenirs de ses années passées en France, échangea quelques paroles en anglais avec ma femme en apprenant qu'elle enseignait cette langue et lui parla de Londres, qu'il n'avait pas oublié non plus. Il se faisait tard, nous dûmes prendre congé, bien à regret, fortement impressionnés par un accueil aussi chaleureux, la forte personnalité de ce vieux lutteur, son aisance toute naturelle, sa parfaite connaissance des hommes, sa vaste culture, sa grande simplicité dans sa mise (1) et ses gestes comme dans ses paroles. Au cours de cette inoubliable fin d'après-midi, jamais il ne prononça 1'un de ces slogans que 1'on retrouve dans ses discours, ce qui laisserait supposer qu'il ne les utilise que lorsqu'il y est obligé pour être dans la note imposé par le régime ;
We were happy to hear these words from the mouth of the man we then considered to be the venerated and indisputable master of the destinies of Viet-Nam. We had never interrupted him during his talk, which we felt sincere and deeply calculated; he said a lot more than we had dared to hope. He apologized with exquisite delicacy for being so talkative, very proud, he told us, of not having forgotten our language too much. A servant slipped in and brought the tea, sticky rice cakes, lotus seeds and some other goodies. Everything was arranged in the blink of an eye and the servant disappeared as silently as he had entered. This calm, accompanied by the peace of the evening, fit perfectly with the serenity of the presentation so full of hope that we had just listened to in absolute meditation. The President argued with my wife for the honor of pouring the tea, cigarettes were lit, and the conversation ensued on various subjects. He inquired about our daily life, asked us if we were satisfied with it, recalled old memories of his years spent in France, exchanged a few words in English with my wife when he learned that she taught this language and spoke to her about London, which he hadn't forgotten either. It was getting late, we had to take our leave, very reluctantly, deeply impressed by such a warm welcome, the strong personality of this old fighter, his natural ease, his perfect knowledge of people, his vast culture, his great simplicity in his attire {1} and gestures as in his words. During this unforgettable late afternoon, he never pronounced one of these slogans which one finds in his speeches, which would let us suppose that he used these slogans only when he was obliged to do so as expected by the regime;

Footnote

{1} Il n'a vraiment pas besoin de la publicité tapageuse faite à ce sujet, exagérant jusqu'à prétendre qu'il a depuis dix ans le même uniforme et qu'il en a un seul, et une unique paire de chaussures : ses fameuses sandales à lanières, le tout en caoutchouc, qu'il porte nu-pieds.
{1} He really does not need any flashy publicity on this subject, exaggerating to the point of claiming that he has had the same uniform for ten years and that he has only one, and only one pair of shoes: his famous sandals with straps, all in rubber, which he wears barefoot.

Go to Patti (1980) WV p.86, Ho's sincerity and eloquence.

NOTE: Ho's attitude and policy toward women, even in 1945, were surprisingly modern.
Go to WV p.133, Famine, right to live, equality.

Tuan, Hoang Anh 2015

Vietnam-US irony of history

Hoang Anh Tuan (2015), Vietnam-US: The little known "fate" and the irony of history, VietnamNet Global (Internet archived 2023.10.17) : This 2015 article, written by Hoang Anh Tuan, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vietnam, has the same photo, but with the caption mentioning the photo was taken at Tan Trao, not Pac Bo.

File Photo: President Ho Chi Minh, General Vo Nguyen Giap and members of the Deer Team in Tan Trao, 1945.

Photo caption: "*File Photo: President Ho Chi Minh, General Vo Nguyen Giap and members of the Deer Team in Tan Trao, 1945.*"

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

Ward and Burns 2017
The Vietnam War
Ward, Geoffrey C.; Burns, Ken (2017), *The Vietnam War: An Intimate History*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

VW pdf p.51, Ho, Major Thomas, OSS Deer Team at Pac Bo
In fact, the above photo in EW p.86 was reprinted with the same caption content in the book below (in which Logevall contributed a chapter): (Image of Ho and Major Thomas on pdf p.51)

Ho Chi Minh (first row, third from right) at Pac Bo with members of the OSS Deer Mission, 1945. The officer to Ho's right is the team's commander, Major Allison Thomas. The man wearing the tie is Vo Nguyen Giap.

Image caption: "Ho Chi Minh (first row, third from right) at Pac Bo with members of the OSS Deer Mission, 1945. The officer to Ho's right is the team's commander, Major Allison Thomas. The man wearing the tie is Vo Nguyen Giap."

The Vietnam War: An Intimate History, Ward and Burns, 2017.

https://erenow.net/ww/vietnam-war-an-intimate-history/1.php : Deja Vu, 1858-1961, from *The Vietnam War* by Ward and Burns, 2017.

What did Patti (1980) say in his book? See WV p.127, pdf p.150, Thomas parachuted into Kim Lung on 1945 Jul 16, OS p.164, pdf p.175, Kim Lung was Tan Trao, and more generally Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

Misprint in VW pdf p.51
The photo in VW pdf p.51, Ho, Major Thomas … was taken at Tan Trao, not Pac Bo.

Go to Misprints in EW pp.85-86: Tan Trao.

Williams 2019

USAF in Southeast Asia

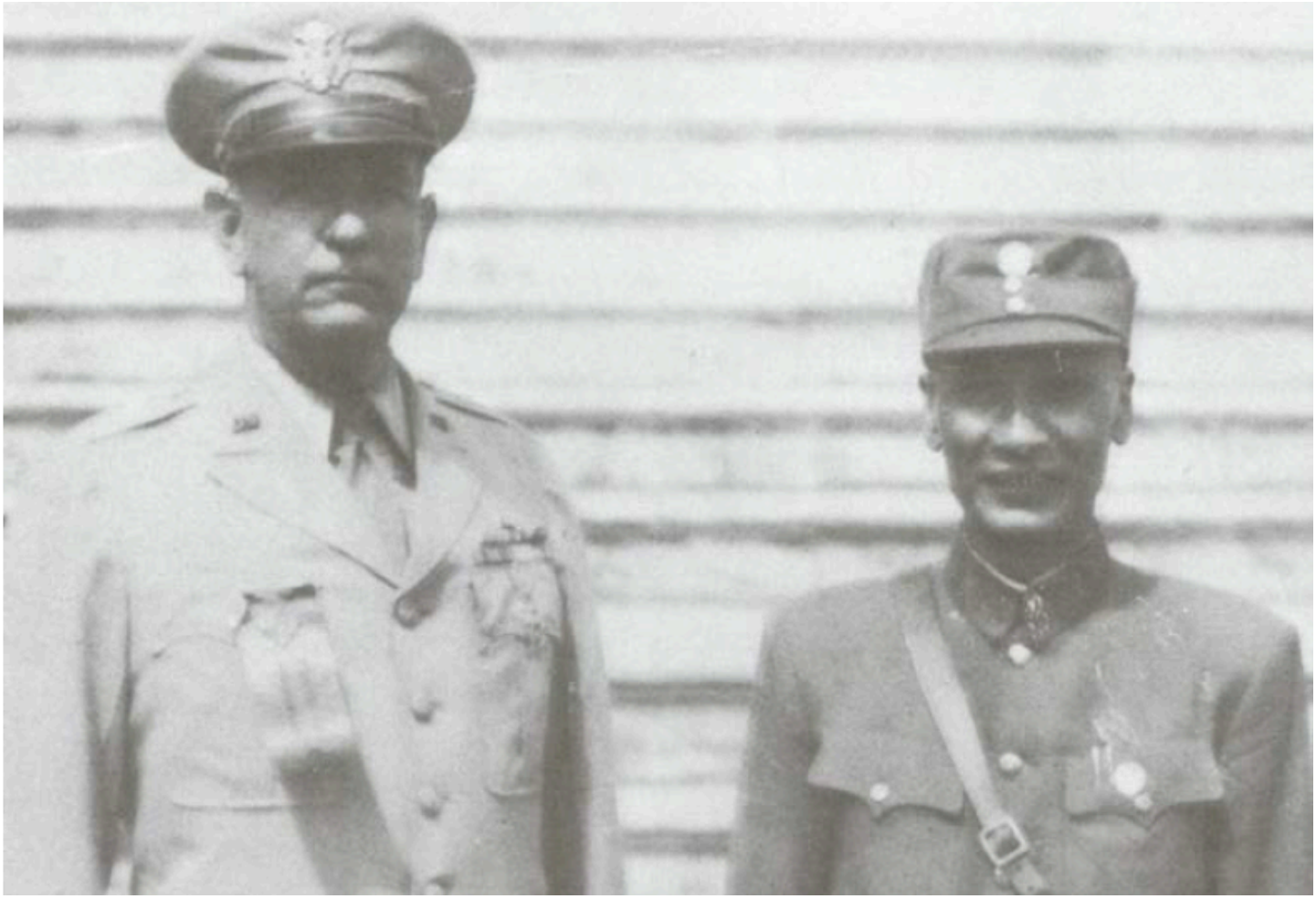
Williams, Kenneth (2019), *The US Air Force in Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War A Narrative Chronology Volume I: The Early Years through 1959* (PDF), Air Force History and Museums Program, Washington, D.C.

US p.16, Maj. Patti

> The full group consisted of thirteen OSS officers and enlisted men under Maj. Archimedes L. A. Patti and five French officers, including Sainteny.

Regarding the rank of Patti (Captain or Major), see detailed comments in Section Capt. (or Major?) Patti.

US p.22, Gen. Gallagher



"Brig. Gen. Philip E. Gallagher, USA (left), arrived in Hanoi on September 16 as senior advisor for the Chinese occupation force, which was led by Gen. Lu Han (right). Lu gave the French "damn little," according to Gallagher. *U.S. Army*."

See the error in confusing Gen. Gallagher with Col. Stephen Nordlinger in OS p.307, Gen. Gallagher.

Contact

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PLACEHOLDER TO BE FILLED LATER...